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N. Y. Sturges.

From the Author

FURTHER FACTS
RELATING TO THE
CARE OF THE POOR,
AND THE
MANAGEMENT
OF
THE WORKHOUSE,
IN THE
CITY OF NORWICH,
BEING A SEQUEL TO A FORMER PUBLICATION.
BY EDWARD RIGBY.

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The portion of intelligence applied to this complicated machine is too scanty; and even those whose superior education renders them more competent to so difficult a task, and who are disposed to execute it with zeal, fidelity, and intelligence, are, not seldom, soured or disgusted by the opposition they experience in all attempts to challenge unequal assessments, or to reform existing abuses; and being unable to enforce such necessary improvements, they have no alternative but to abandon the pursuit, and leave the parochial affairs to the management of interested jundos, who out-vote all that attempt to oppose their own system, however erroneous it may be.

COLQUHOUN ON INDIGENCE.

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1812.




A considerable part of the following pages was written without the smallest expectation of its meeting the public eye, particularly the Reports, originally and extemporaneously inserted in the Visitor's Book, at the Workhouse. Not having considered myself at liberty to make any alteration in them, however faulty I may now deem their arrangement and phraseology, I notice the circumstance, with a hope, I had almost said, an expectation, that, on this account, they will not be considered as subjects of literary criticism.

E. R.

NORWICH, MAY 14, 1812.



FURTHER FACTS.



I Am induced, a second time, to bring before the public some facts connected with the management, and more particularly the workhouse management of the poor within the city of Norwich, affecting, in no small degree, the general interests of the inhabitants, the particular interests of the unfortunate objects of the poor laws, and, I may add, the genuine interests of humanity.

As on the former occasion, I have a two-fold motive for doing this;—I have a natural, and I trust a reasonable wish, to exonerate myself from the blame which has been imputed to me, by my opposers, in several attempts which I have made to effect some regulations in the administration of this system, which I conceived to be salutary: And I am led to hope, that the exhibition of additional practical facts, on a subject of acknowledged difficulty, may be of use as connected with a branch of political economy becoming every day more important; and may even have a tendency, joined with similar reports from other places, to determine a question, for a long while agitated, and never decided, whe-

ther the acknowledged evils attending the poor laws arise from their mal-execution, or from any original radical defect in the laws themselves; and which, I conceive, can be determined only by a comparison of accumulated facts. At the same time, I am disposed to think, that an exposure of error, mismanagement, and failure, may be even more instructive, though less grateful to the writer and the reader, than records of more successful management; being obviously more calculated to call forth the public sentiment; the direction of which, to such subjects as these, cannot fail to be useful; public opinion having, sometimes, effected what the force of argument, the obligation of morals, and the injunctions of law, have failed to influence.

In the year 1712, (10th of Anne) an Act was obtained “for erecting a workhouse in the city of “the county of Norwich, for the better employment “and maintaining the poor there;” which placed the management of the workhouse, the relief of the poor, the assessment of the inhabitants, &c. in the hands of sixty guardians, consisting of the Mayor, Recorder, Steward, the two Sheriffs, twenty-three Aldermen, and thirty-two of the inhabitants paying to the rates. Of these, the twenty-four Aldermen, including the Mayor, are permanent guardians, the Recorder, Steward, and two Sheriffs, during their offices, and the thirty-two inhabitants are elected, by an Assembly of the Corporation, for two years, and are again eligible at the expiration of the term; being usually re-elected, unless in consequence of change of residence, of voluntary resignation, or, I am sorry to add, of the occasional exacerbations of party.

In May, 1783, I was elected a guardian for two years, during which time I detected some gross abuses in the purchase and distribution of provisions; and after a protracted opposition, after various obstacles thrown in the way of enquiry, such as the concealment and destruction of books, and the pertinacious refusal of servants to answer questions, a new arrangement was effected, by which a more plentiful, more wholesome, and more economical diet system was established, producing, as will appear from documents published by me in 1788, no less an annual saving than £2612. 2s. 6d.* At the expiration of the term of two years, I met the fate common to reformers of abuses—I was not re-elected. I was rewarded for my well-intentioned, persevering, and successful services, by illiberal opposition and gross abuse; and to complete the climax of injustice, on the first occasion which occurred, was dismissed from my office.

In October, 1802, I became a permanent guardian, by being elected an Alderman. The duties of magistracy being little compatible with extensive medical practice, and, at the same time, not much suited to my private habits and pursuits, I should not have accepted it, could I, in any other way, have been a guardian.

Another Act had just been obtained, empowering

* See reports of the special provision committee, appointed by the Court of Guardians, in the city of Norwich; with an account of the savings which have been produced by the late regulations in the diet of the workhouses: exhibiting some important facts respecting the economy of those establishments.—By EDWARD RIGBY.

the guardians to erect a workhouse upon a large scale, and authorising them, for that purpose, to borrow £30,000. A piece of land had been purchased, premiums had been given for architectural plans, one had been fixed upon, and it was proposed to proceed in the building without delay. I conceived such a measure to be fraught with much evil to the city, and wished to make an effort to prevent its being carried into execution.*

Soon after my appointment, I attended a general Court of Guardians, on the 7th of Dec. 1802, when a part of the business of the day was to appoint a committee to superintend the building of the new workhouse, and a motion being made for that purpose, I rose to express my doubts of the expediency of the measure, and suggested, whether even, at that advanced stage of the business, it would not be right, before finally determining upon it, to discuss the relative advantages of maintaining the poor in the workhouse, or of granting them out-door allowances; whether, instead of telling the poor, who apply for relief, they must come into the workhouse, (as is the general practice in most places in which there is a workhouse) it would not be better to tell even those who do apply to come in, you had

* The late much-respected Mr. John Gurney did me the honor of communicating to me the wishes of some of my fellow citizens, that I should accept the office of Alderman.—My first impression urged me to an unequivocal refusal; but on further conversation, and some allusion being made to the new intended workhouse, I expressed my conviction of its being a bad measure, and said, I could reconcile myself to becoming an Alderman, could I be the means of putting a stop to it; and I believe Mr. Gurney mentioned this to some of his friends.

better try to keep out, and we will assist you; having little doubt but the result would be a decided preference of the latter. I have no memoranda of my address; but I well remember the purport of it was as follows.—I began by adverting to the celebrated act of the 43d of Elizabeth; and though I acknowledged that the principle and spirit of it did credit to the legislation of that period, and that the expectations of the public, that it would do away much of the evil of a vagrant and dissolute poor, were, at that time, not unreasonable; yet in what related to the establishment of workhouses, with a view to giving employment to the poor, under the belief that their labor might be made so productive as materially to lessen the burthen of maintaining them; I verily believed that the experience of almost two centuries had produced nothing but disappointment; and in this city the system had most notoriously failed, the earnings in the workhouse, from an account taken almost twenty years before, having amounted only to 4d. a head per week; and in a calculation more recently made, though an obvious improvement had taken place in the system of manufacture, as being better calculated, than formerly, to produce habits of industry among the younger paupers, the amount of earnings was still less.

I then noticed the moral and physical inconveniences produced by crowding numbers of poor into one house.—In depraving the morals and promoting vice, workhouses notoriously partook of the evils of our prisons: the promiscuous mixture of the sexes, of the old and the young, of the unfortunate

with the dissolute, had an obviously injurious influence on the manners of all. And that such a situation was unfavorable to health, was well known to every medical man: The inevitable tendency to disease, when large numbers were admitted into these houses, was such, that it was difficult to say what extent of building, for any given number, was requisite to prevent it. The deterioration of the air, I believed, was not in mere proportion to arithmetical numbers: Two hundred persons living together, probably vitiating the air more than as twice one hundred; and unless a scale could be formed of the increased ratio at which higher numbers produced this injurious effect, it would be impossible to say of what size the building should be to contain sixteen hundred paupers, the number expected to be admitted into the new workhouse, having been the average number which, for some years past, had actually been in the old workhouses. I suspected that the plan for the new workhouse, large and expensive as it would be, was much too limited, more especially as I conceived the building should be adapted to the highest number which had lately been in the workhouses, which was two thousand, rather than the average number of sixteen hundred. A building for four hundred ought, therefore, probably, to be much more than doubly as large as one for two hundred, and one for eight hundred should, perhaps, be at least three times as large as one for four hundred; and, possibly, one for sixteen hundred four times as large as one for eight hundred; and what would be requisite for two thousand, I could not possibly conjecture, but the necessity for

its being infinitely larger than the plan adopted by the court, might be illustrated, in a way which had much impressed my mind. There are many country towns, and I mentioned several in Norfolk, which contain about two thousand inhabitants, living, as families, in separate houses, in streets, or dispersed over the surrounding fields, in farm-houses, cottages, &c.; assuming that some sudden circumstance rendered it necessary that all these individuals should be condensed within one building; of what extent should it be, to admit their breathing air even approximating, in purity, to that they had been accustomed to?

The Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, which every guardian has seen and probably visited, would also give some idea of the extent of building requisite for two thousand persons, as well as the cost of such a building. The hospital has accommodation for ninety-five patients, and there has been expended on the building more than £13,000. When first built, in 1771, it was calculated for eighty-nine patients; and, at the low price of materials and labor at that time, cost about £10,000. Workhouses, indeed, (though there can be no good reason why it should be so), have seldom been built upon so large a proportionate scale, nor with wards so lofty, nor, in other respects, so well finished as this hospital.

It cannot, however, be doubted, that for two thousand persons, which is more than twenty-two times eighty-nine, whether paupers or patients, the building should, at least, be twenty times as large; but if only ten times as large, which is allowing for the

paupers less than half the space the patients have in the hospital, and would be the same thing as putting two hundred persons where there are now but eighty-nine, the expence would much exceed the sum you are authorised by the late act to expend upon it, as in raising money for the building you are limited to £30,000; and you will, perhaps, think even this consideration an objection to the new workhouse.

As to the comparative expence of the two systems, exclusive of the expence of the new building, I conceived we should have no difficulty in obtaining a satisfactory account from our own experience, for so lately as the year 1800, which was the year of scarcity, two thousand poor were admitted into the workhouses at an early period of the winter, and this number so completely filled them, that no more could be taken in; and those who applied afterwards, and they were not few, were, of necessity, maintained by weekly allowances.—A comparison of the expence of maintaining those out of the workhouse, with that of maintaining those in the workhouse, would be decisive; and though I had neither seen or heard of these accounts, I was most ready to rest upon them my conviction of the preference due to the out-door allowance system.

I urged further, as another reason for delaying to build the workhouse, the obvious propriety of waiting until the returns, at that time collecting for government, in every parish in the kingdom, of the expence of maintaining the poor, had been made; as they would necessarily exhibit a comparative view of the two modes of maintaining them, and I

confidently anticipated that the result would not advocate the workhouse system.*

There was, still, another reason, which had, sometimes, been urged in favor of workhouses, the principle of which, I trusted, they would not act upon; that in such places the poor were more under controul, and could more easily be governed than when at large. The object of the poor laws was, surely, the relief and maintainance of the poor, rather than their governance; and though the particular law under which they acted had given even a power of punishment, this was, obviously, to be exercised with great caution, and to prevent its being improperly inflicted, the act had limited it to the Court when sitting, and in the intervals of its meeting, to the Mayor, the Governor, Deputy Governor, or the Justices of the Peace for the city and county of Norwich.—Workhouse Act, sec. 9.

The objections to workhouses appear, therefore, to be, that they are unproductive as a system of labor; that they are injurious to the manners of the poor; that they generate disease, and that they are much more expensive than relieving the poor by out-door allowances.

After all, however, I added, in conclusion, if on making the experiment of a change of system,

* This anticipation has been fully confirmed by these returns—the average difference of expence of maintaining paupers in workhouses, or by out-door allowances, throughout the kingdom, is such, that Mr. Rose says, “the annual loss to the public may be estimated at about 9*l.* per head on the persons shut up in workhouses.” Observations on the poor laws, &c. by the Right Honorable George Rose, M. P. Page 36.

it should actually turn out that I have been mistaken, no loss or inconvenience would be incurred by abandoning the out-door allowances, no permanent expence having accrued from adopting them: But should the contrary system be extended by building the proposed new workhouse, and, after a few years' trial, it should disappoint your expectations, how will you, I said, regret the having expended so large a sum unnecessarily, and how justly will the inhabitants of Norwich complain, that so heavy a permanent burden has been imposed upon them, to no good purpose.

I was much gratified by the ready attention which was paid me by the Court, and the impression made upon it was such, as to produce, on my motion, an order of the Court—"that it be referred to the committees, for the two workhouses, to consider and report to the next Court, whether the system of out-door allowances can be so extended, (consistently with a proper regard to economy and the comforts of the poor) as to render it unnecessary to erect a new workhouse, on so large a scale, as has hitherto been proposed; and the said committees are requested, at the same time, to report the number of persons who have weekly received such relief, for the last twelve months."

On the 4th of January, 1803, the two committees informed the Court, "that they were unable, from the shortness of the time, to make a report on the matters referred to them, by order of the last Court, on the subject of out-door allowances; and, therefore, they requested that the time be enlarged until the Court in March next, when an accurate statement can be made."

On the first of March, the committees reported, “ that they have made out-door allowances, from the “ tenth of December last to the eighteenth day of “ February last, being ten weeks, both inclusive, to “ 7163* families, consisting of 16,595 persons, “ amounting to £843. 10s. 1d. being an average of “ nearly twelve pence farthing per head per week, “ that is to say, twelve pence farthing per week would “ amount to £847. Average number of persons re- “ lieved out-doors per week 1659. It is to be observ- “ ed, that the proportion of salaries of surgeons, “ and visitors, and of expences for printing, station- “ ary, &c. which belongs to the out-door paupers, “ will amount to one penny halfpenny per head “ per week.”

2d. “ That there were paupers in the workhouses, “ on the tenth day of December, 718; on the eigh- “ teenth of February, 720; and that the average

* These could not be the real numbers, but the numbers multiplied by ten, the number of weeks in which the poor were relieved:— dividing the numbers by ten, the weekly average of families will be 716; of individuals 1659.

A statement of the number of poor relieved in Liverpool, in four weeks, in January, 1812, which I have just seen, is thus given:—

| | <i>Families.</i> | <i>Persons.</i> |
|---|------------------|-----------------|
| In the week ending January 3, 1812, | 2,263 | 8,288 |
| 10, | 3,156 | 11,265 |
| 17, | 3,824 | 13,856 |
| 24, | 4,248 | 15,350 |

If added together, as the above account is,

The families would be 13,491—the persons 48,699.

There is, moreover, a probable error in the numbers themselves, 1659 individuals being not much more than two to each of the 716 families, not allowing, besides the man and his wife, a child to even one third of them. The Liverpool account is in a more probable proportion, being somewhat less than four to each family.

“ of paupers in the houses, for the ten weeks, is 702
 “ persons.”

3d. “ That they are unanimously of opinion, that,
 “ on an average, every pauper in the workhouses
 “ costs three shillings and sixpence per week, after
 “ deducting the earnings.”*

“ Your committees having reported as above, de-
 “ cline giving their opinion on the subject matter,
 “ leaving the inference to be drawn from the pre-
 “ mises to the General Court.”

“ Your committees having no accurate account of
 “ the number of persons who had weekly relief pre-
 “ vious to the 10th of December last, cannot comply
 “ with the request of the General Court in that
 “ respect.” (Signed.)

After the candid attention paid by the Court to my suggestions in December, and the reference of the subject, by its order, to the committees, I could not but be mortified to hear so meagre, so ill-written, and so uninformative a report; in which, without assigning a reason, they decline giving an opinion on the subject referred to them, and at the same time avow having kept no accurate account, which is the same thing as no account, of the number of persons who had weekly relief, previous to the 10th of December, 1802. I particularly regretted this, because

* I have examined the printed account of the expenditure for the years 1803, 1804, and 1805, and it appears to me that the expence of maintaining the poor in the workhouse and infirmary was, at least, 4s. per head per week; but these accounts are not satisfactorily arranged, and do not, I fear, admit of accurate deductions.

Statistical information will never be worth having, unless parochial officers and others, who have the care of the poor, keep more correct and more lucid accounts.

it prevented my obtaining the only document which would have been completely satisfactory, as admitting the fairest comparison between the two systems, I mean the account in 1800, when, as before observed, the workhouses being completely filled, and applications for admission still being made, the individuals who could not be admitted, must have had a weekly allowance adequate to the entire maintenance of their families, and which, compared with the expence of maintaining the same number in the workhouses, would have given an *unexceptionable* result.*

The consideration of this report was deferred until the Court in July, and the committees were requested to continue the account of the out-door allowances.

June 7, 1803.—The committees further reported, “that the out-door allowances, from the 18th of February to the 27th of May inclusive, being fourteen weeks, to 6089† families, consisting of 11,228 persons, amount to £584. 3s. 9d. being an average of nearly 12½d. per head per week.”

* Unless under such circumstances as these, it is difficult to obtain a correct comparative estimate of the expence of the respective systems, as many of the out-door allowances are given only in aid of maintenance, and not for maintenance wholly. A comparison may, indeed, be made between parishes having a workhouse, and parishes which have none; and Mr. Rose’s inference in favour of maintaining the poor out of workhouses, is probably, the more correct, for this reason.

† This further account of the number of families, and the corresponding number of individuals, is still more extraordinary; it is not two to each family;—if correct, it is not more extraordinary than it is melancholy: A great number of these families must have been childless, widowed, or orphan.

Consideration of the report, which contained other matter, deferred to the next General Court.

July 5, 1803.—Other matters considered, but no notice taken of the subject of out-door allowances; but though no discussion took place at this, or any future Court, a general sentiment prevailed against building a workhouse on the scale formerly proposed.

July 19, 1803.—A report was presented from the building committee, and Messrs. Frost and Mears, recommending to build a workhouse, to hold a thousand paupers, in the parish of Lakenham.

The consideration deferred.

In March and April, 1804, reports presented of plan and estimate of altering St. Andrew's workhouse, to hold six hundred, which was finally determined upon and executed; and paupers were admitted into it about the end of 1805.

The building a new workhouse being thus, fortunately, relinquished, my attention was once more directed to the subject of provisions, and also, as a natural professional effort, to a consideration of the means best calculated to promote the health of the paupers, and to prevent the admission of infectious diseases into the house; and with this view, on my motion, two committees were appointed; one *to enquire into the purchase and application of the several articles of provisions, and such other matters relating thereto as should rise in the course of the enquiry; also to suggest such regulations therein as may be deemed expedient;* and the other, composed of the most respectable medical gentlemen in the city, *to take into consideration, and report the best means of providing*

for the sick, in the workhouse, and of preventing contagion therein.

My motive, for the first enquiry, arose from a suspicion that the regulations of 1784 were not properly complied with; and my conviction of the necessity and practicability of improving the medical arrangement, in the workhouse, and of the incalculable importance to the inhabitants at large, of preventing the generation and admission of infection into it, owed much to the excellent publications on this subject, of Haygarth, Percival, Currie, Stanger, Blackburn, and Ferriar of Manchester. Haygarth was the first who rationally excited the attention of the public to this important subject; and by proving that at a certain distance from an infectious patient, the morbid particles floating or dissolved in the surrounding atmosphere, are too dilute to communicate disease, established the practicability of effectually preventing contagion, by simply preventing communication, and even limiting the approach to such patients to a distance much less than had heretofore been thought necessary; and the successful application of these principles has been practically proved, by the establishment of fever wards and houses of recovery, in London, Chester, Liverpool, and Manchester; in the latter place, the experiment has been most consolatory to humanity, for no one can read, without the most grateful emotions, (and every one should read) Dr. Ferriar's most interesting report on this subject, in the third volume of his *Medical Histories and Reflections*.

The following report of the medical committee,

dated September 18, 1805, was presented to the Court on the first of October, 1805:—

Norwich, Sept. 18th, 1805.

At a meeting of the medical committee, appointed by the Court of Guardians, to take into consideration and report the best means of providing for the sick in the workhouse, and of preventing contagion therein,

Present,

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| DR. LUBBOCK, | MR. MARTINEAU, |
| DR. ALDERSON, | MR. DALRYMPLE, |
| DR. WRIGHT, | MR. RIGBY. |

Resolved,

First—That it is our opinion that two rooms, one for each sex, are necessary for the reception of sick patients under common diseases; and that two other rooms, one for each sex, are also necessary for patients under contagious diseases; and that there are four rooms at the north end of the west wing of St. Andrew's workhouse, which would answer these purposes; the two rooms on the middle floor for the reception of patients under common diseases, and the two attic rooms for patients labouring under contagious diseases; and that when such diseases exist in the house, the patients should be confined to these rooms, and all communication between them and the other inhabitants of the workhouse carefully guarded against.

Second—That the middle story of the house late Mr. Smyth's, now a part of the workhouse, containing three rooms, should be appropriated for the reception of lying-in women; and the upper rooms, in the same house, for the reception of venereal patients.

Third—That it would be convenient to have a room on the ground floor for the sole use of the surgeon, where his medicines might be kept, and where he might daily see the pauper out-patients; and there appears to be one under Mr. Smyth's house, which, at a little expence, might be fitted up for that purpose.

Fourth—That to prevent the generation of disease in the house, and to preserve general health therein, the strictest attention should unceasingly be paid to cleanliness and ventilation in every part of the house, by frequently cleaning and white-washing all the rooms, and by adding many more and much larger casements in every ward and room, in every passage, and on every stair-case; and that an ample supply of water be provided for every part of the house, and more especially for the sick rooms.

Fifth—That in order to guard at all times against the diffusion of small pox among the poor resident in the house, it be recommended that all persons liable to that disease, and who may be considered as proper subjects for the practice, be inoculated for cow pox immediately on their admission into the house, and also all children born in the house, as soon as the surgeon shall deem it proper.

Sixth—That a roomy tepid bath be provided for the house; that all paupers be examined on their coming into the house, and if any be found to be peculiarly dirty, or to have any cutaneous eruptions, that such be well bathed and washed in the tepid bath: And for the common purposes of personal cleanliness, that there be in the yard a large cistern of river water.

Seventh—That to excite a due attention in the master, mistress, and servants in the house, to these and other necessary regulations, and particularly to induce a general disposition to cleanliness, it be recommended in future, that the workhouse be visited every week, by two or more respectable inhabitants of the city, in the same manner as is done at the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital; and that these house visitors write down their remarks on the general state of the house, the conduct of the master, mistress, and servants, and the behaviour of the poor, in a book provided for that purpose, and that such book be laid before the weekly committees.

Eighth—That to promote the salutary views of the Court, in what respects the health of the poor in the workhouse, we, the undersigned, are ready with any of our medical brethren, to visit the house twice in a year, or as often as it may be required of us.

Signed as above.

The thanks of the Court were given to the medical gentlemen, and the report was ordered to be printed; but the fourth, fifth, and seventh resolutions were the only ones carried into effect, and the seventh was injudiciously altered, by substituting two guardians as visitors, instead of two inhabitants of the city, who were not guardians.

The report of the special provision committee, drawn up by John Browne, Esq. and dated on the 26th of September, was also presented October 1, 1805, and is as follows:—

The first object of the committee has been to examine the account of the quantity of provisions charged to the account of the Corporation of Guardians; to compare the quantity with the consump-

tion in the houses, and to ascertain, whether the charge and the discharge agreed, and whether they corresponded with the portions allotted to each person, according to the printed regulations of the committee of the year 1784.

BREAD ACCOUNT.

We first examined the bread account; from which examination it appeared, that, under the regulation of 1784, the shares, in weight, were six pounds, one ounce, and one quarter of meal bread to each person per week. That in May, 1804, (this month being preferred, because it was some time previous to the appointment of the committee, and, in consequence, not be influenced by it) each share of bread weighed six pounds and a half; and that bread was contracted for of a finer quality, and to be made of the best seconds flour.

Upon referring to a bread account, produced by Mr. Swift, pursuant to an order of the committee, it appeared, that, in the year 1784, 1271 persons consumed 3810 loaves weekly; and that, in the year ending September, 1804, 580 persons, (being the average number of paupers in the house, from Sept. 1803, to Sept. 1804) consumed 2040 loaves in the same period, which is one seventh part more to each person in the latter than the former space of time.

To prove the accuracy of the above result, we examined an account from April, 1803, to April, 1804; and found, that in that year there were delivered to the house 5542 scores of loaves, and that the average number of paupers was 595; which, upon comparison with the table of 1784, is 884 scores of loaves more than ought to have been used; or,

abating fractional parts, one seventh; which corresponds with the account rendered by Mr. Swift.

From hence it seems, that not only one seventh part more of bread is consumed than formerly, but that the bread is contracted for of a finer quality. Though we are obliged to observe, that upon inspecting the bread in use at the time of our enquiry, and submitting to the inspection of a respectable baker samples from the delivery of four contractors, he stated to us his opinion, that not one of them was made of the flour called fine seconds.

The result of this enquiry respecting the bread, is, that the quality of the bread is changed, from meal to fine seconds flour; and that, notwithstanding the quality is so much improved, the quantity, and consequently the charge is very considerably increased.

BUTTER ACCOUNT.

The committee, previous to entering into this article of expenditure, took, as the standard of consumption, the regulation proposed in the year 1784, when four ounces were deemed a proper quantity for twelve shares: These shares are formed by a quantity of butter pressed into a mould, divided into squares by grooves, along which a knife or cutter is drawn; by which method the weight of the shares should be very nearly alike; but, upon examining the moulds in use at the different workhouses, it was discovered, that, by the St. Andrew's house, every twelve shares weighed six ounces and one quarter; and by that of the Duke's Palace, the same number of shares weighed only four ounces and one half. Since the removal of all the paupers into the latter

house, the smaller mould only has been used; we were informed, that the mould making the larger shares was of a more recent date than the other; and we notice this difference, only to shew how great ought to be the attention of all masters of work-houses to matters apparently of small importance, though leading, in process of time, to consequences, not only very serious to the poor, but to all those who have to contribute to their maintainance.

Your committee then proceeded to examine the butter account, from the weekly account book; and from the 19th to the 26th of May, 1804, it was found, that each portion, so divided into twelve shares, weighed five ounces and one half. If in the year 1784 four ounces were taken as a sufficient quantity, there is more used by 1875 pounds, or about thirty-six firkins of butter per annum, than there ought to be; but we were informed by the master of the house, that thirteen pounds per week were required for various domestic purposes; but, after deducting this quantity, there will be twenty-one firkins, or thereabouts, in excess of expenditure.

In the week of the 17th of Sept. 1804, the consumption of butter was $2\frac{3}{4}$ firkins and 4 lbs. equal to five ounces and three quarters each portion.

From the enquiries of the committee upon this subject, it does not appear that the regulations proposed in the year 1784 were ever put in practice, or at most very partially so; and it struck them, as an extraordinary circumstance, if four ounces for twelve shares was reckoned a proper allowance, that a portion so much larger had been used, particularly in the house wherein the larger mould had been adopted.

On this head your committee cannot refrain from expressing its surprise, that notwithstanding the very laborious investigation of the committee of the year 1784, demonstrated the great savings which the regulations proposed, and recommended, would effectuate, and that in consequence of it, some important reforms were adopted, that they were not extended to an article of consumption of considerable importance, especially since the use of it has, in a great measure, been substituted in the place of cheese.

MEAT ACCOUNT.

The next object of the committee was the meat account; to examine the quantity and the charge of it, and to find if the consumption tallied with the delivery, and the weight of the shares allotted to the paupers.

From an account taken from the month of December, in the year 1786, the average consumption of four weeks was eleven ounces and two-thirds of uncooked meat to one person; in May, 1804, the consumption was twelve ounces and one quarter, supposing that the whole number then in the house eat meat, or had it delivered; but of this number no more than two hundred and fifteen had it; infants, and children not able to spin eight skeins being excluded; so that the quantity to the paupers having meat will be twenty-five ounces of uncooked meat per week.

On examining the week preceding the 10th of September, 1804, it appeared, that for two hundred paupers eating meat, there were cooked three hundred & twenty pounds, which is twenty-four ounces and one half each.

In consequence of an order of the committee, the

master of the house reported, that in the preceding week there were received into the house, beef, thirty-five stones six pounds; pork, three stones—total, thirty-eight stones six pounds; of which, were delivered to the infirmary, ten stones seven pounds; cooked in the house, twenty-five stones eleven pounds; suet, one stone six pounds and three-quarters; kidney, one pound; waste from splinters, strings, kernels, &c. eight pounds and one quarter, which, added together, makes up the thirty-eight stones six pounds received. Dividing twenty-five stones eleven pounds, of the beef and pork cooked, by 198, the number then having meat, the result gives twenty-nine ounces for each weekly share. But it should be observed, that sixty-four persons, sick and infirm, have daily a small share of meat; and that fifteen helpers have a full meal of meat five days in each week, in all seventy-nine meals, averaged at five ounces each of cooked meat; so that after these deductions are made, it brings the weight of each share, abating fractional parts, to the weight before stated.

To discover if this consumption tallied with the value of the meat bought for the workhouses and infirmary, the committee first examined the books from the 4th of April, 1801, to the 4th of April, 1802, wherein there is charged, in the general account, for beef, the sum of £2551 1 7

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|----|-------------|
| Discharged by the weekly account- | | | |
| book of St. Andrew's house | £936 | 15 | 0 |
| Duke's Palace | 1027 | 10 | 0 |
| Infirmary | 244 | 11 | 4—2208 16 4 |
| Leaving a deficiency to | | | |
| be accounted for, of | 342 | 5 | 3 |

On reference to the ledger it was found, that in this year were paid to Mr. John Lowden, over and above the contract price, as a compensation for having supplied the demand for a more than usual quantity of meat, in consequence of an alteration in the diet of the houses, arising from the high price of flour £50 0 0

The master also stated, that there was an allowance of 3s. 6d. per week to each of the masters, or 10s. 6d. per week 27 6 0

For suet bought more than the meat produced 13 13 0

Reducing the excess of expenditure unaccounted for, to the sum of 251 6 3

Which sum still is one-tenth part of the whole charge of the year.

To discover if any other year would correspond with, or corroborate the above statement, the committee examined the meat account of one workhouse, in the year 1803, and found charged £914. 11s. 3d. The number having meat being 297, at the rate of 25 ounces each, and taking the average price of the year at 7s. per stone, the amount will be £589. 1s. to which add, the governor's or master's joint, £27. 6s.—suet from the beef £9. 2s. and suet bought £13. 13s.—also four stones of small meat, for the sick, each week, £72. 16s.—and ox cheeks £43. 9s. 9d.—the total of which several items, being £755. 7s. 9d. there appears an excess of expenditure of £159. 3s. 6d.

The committee then proceeded to compare the quantity of meat received, with the quantity used.

From Michaelmas, 1803, to Lady, 1804, being a

period of twenty-six weeks, the master received, for the workhouse, 703 stones, 6 pounds; for the infirmary, 297 stones, 2 pounds; and it appears from this account, that the receipt and the consumption came as near to a balance as can reasonably be expected. But, although the master's account of the quantity received tallied with the consumption, yet, in the same period, the butcher's charge for 790 stones; to which, adding meat bought at market, 286 stones; pork, mutton, and cheeks, not included in the above eleven stones; and averaging what are called in the account, pork dinners extraordinary, at fourteen stones; make a total of 1101 stones, which is upwards of one hundred stones charged for more than is accounted for during the above-named period of twenty-six weeks, or one eleventh part of the whole quantity.

In order to trace to the source this apparent difference between receipt and consumption, the committee examined the ledger account of the meat bought for one year; total 2059 stones, cost £690. 16s. 10d. deducting ten stones per week delivered to the infirmary, leaves 1539 stones for the workhouse consumption. To discover how nearly this weight agreed with what should have been the consumption, we examined the weekly bread book, being the only account which exhibits the number of poor having meat, by which we found that the number of paupers having meat was 214, and that allowing 25 ounces of uncooked meat to each, will be equal to 1242 stones per annum, which is less than the quantity charged by 339 stones.

On comparing the general account of provisions,

from April, 1803, to April, 1804, with the weekly account, the committee found charged, in the general account, the sum of £3877. 2s. 6d. of which sum the weekly account gives the following detail:— Expenditure at the workhouse, £2834. 14s. 4d. to which must be added, small meat and suet bought by the master, £74. 6s. 3d.—the infirmary delivery, £784. 7s. 5d.—total £3697. 8s.—unaccounted for, £179. 14s. 6d.

The several differences between the charge and the expenditure, between the general and particular account, the committee have been able to discover no means of reconciling; but they beg leave to state, that it appears to them rather to spring out of an original bad system of book-keeping, than from any want of care in those who at present are the accountants; for they keep the books, and state the accounts in the same way with their predecessors in office.

However wrong in the opinion of the committee may be the method of keeping the accounts, it is far from their intention to impute blame to those now in that employment.

The principal and radical defect in the system of book-keeping appears to be, that, from the general account, no detailed account can be drawn, and balance struck between the items which compose the principal sums of receipt and disbursement.

There appear upon the whole, in the opinion of the committee, the following articles which require alteration; and they presume to submit their opinions to the consideration of the Corporation of Guardians, in the fullest confidence, that the me-

thod they recommend may be adopted, and that, if adopted, a considerable saving will be made to the public; and even supposing not to the extent the committee imagine, yet the public will at least know that their money has been not only properly expended, but may be readily accounted for.

The committee cannot conclude this result of their enquiry, an enquiry conducted with as great a degree of exactness as the documents to which they had access would allow, without expressing their regret, that it should be so imperfect and unsatisfactory, and their full conviction, that unless some less complicated method of keeping the accounts, than has been hitherto in use, be contrived and adopted, it is impossible for the auditors of the general account to pass them, with the conviction, that the several items contained therein have been applied to the public service: The committee propose that a new method of keeping the workhouse accounts be adopted.

That an account, to be called the meat account, should be opened, in which should appear the weight received weekly, and the number of shares into which it was divided, with the weight per share; the balance then struck, and the surplus, if any, to be carried to the next week;—the general annual balance to be drawn from this account, and to correspond with the quantity bought at market, or contracted for. Similar accounts to be raised in the books for bread, butter, and every article of provision.

The committee, moreover, recommend a revision of the weight of the shares of bread, butter, and

meat, and the distribution of them to be kept totally distinct from the quantity which may be allotted to the master; but, on the latter head, the committee suggest, that it appears to them most advisable, to pay the master a salary adequate to his trouble, and to make no allowances or perquisites whatever.

They also are of opinion, that a complete separation of the infirmary accounts, from those of the workhouse, would be a very beneficial arrangement.

The committee recommend, that the quantity of provisions, delivered by weight to the house, should, as nearly as may be, be in proportion to the number of shares required, the weight of which to be fixed by the Corporation of Guardians at a General Court.

That a committee be annually chosen to superintend the provision department of the workhouse, to make a report quarterly, or as often as shall be necessary, respecting it; stating distinctly, if the regulations have been observed, and to propose such alterations as to them shall seem expedient, for the effectual prevention, or remedy, of abuse in such articles of expenditure.

From a careful examination of the proceedings of the committee in the year 1784, the committee are satisfied, that had the regulations therein recommended been fully carried into execution, and scrupulously attended to, a considerable saving would have accrued.

The committee are also of opinion, that the paupers should, as far as may be, dine together, particularly as in St. Andrew's workhouse provision is made in the building for that purpose; they recom-

mend it, on the conviction that more order and cleanliness, and a considerable saving in provision, would be the effect of such a regulation. They also are persuaded, that the delivery of meat from the contractors should on no account exceed the estimated weekly consumption, and that a deficiency, supplied from the market, would be much more economical than an excess arising by contract, it having appeared on a former occasion that such an excess has not unfrequently occurred, which has been destroyed by putrefaction. But should the plan of dining together be rejected, or, on adopting it, insurmountable impediments should arise in the execution of it, in that case the committee judge it will be requisite, that an accurate table of provisions, proportionate to the numbers in the house, be framed, and placed in a conspicuous part of the committee rooms; but in such a table the committee recommend, that no option should be given, in regard to particular articles, as the present practice of the house appears to be, from an inspection of the diet table.

INFIRMARY.

There are delivered from the workhouse to the infirmary weekly, of beef, seventy-seven pounds; the master buys, of pork, seventy pounds—of small meat, fourteen pounds; in all one hundred and sixty-one pounds. The waste in cooking meat is about six pounds in fourteen, which reduces the one hundred and sixty-one pounds to ninety-two pounds.

There are one hundred persons always in the infirmary, who have each ten ounces of cooked meat per

week, or sixty-two pounds and a half; the governor and family, consisting of three persons, ten pounds and a half; three washer-women, six meals per week, at one pound each meal, or six pounds; making a total of seventy-nine pounds, and leaving unaccounted for thirteen pounds; but there is no deduction made for waste, if any, in cutting the shares, or for four helpers, who have something more than the allowance.

But it appears, by the butcher's account, there were delivered in the year, of beef and pork only, six hundred and thirty-eight stones; and by the master's account, five hundred and forty-six stones, making a difference of ninety-two stones. The master's account corresponds with the weight required; one hundred, the number of paupers, multiplied by the weight of the shares of beef and pork, being equal to five hundred and forty-six stones, or thereabouts.

There are allowed seventeen score loaves, similar to the workhouse bread, at thirty-one ounces each, being to each pauper fifteen ounces daily.

Fifty-six pounds of cheese weekly, or nine ounces to each pauper; instead of butter, £23. per annum, equal to 5d. each; this includes the master and family; and 3½d. per week each, instead of beer. The remainder of the provisions consists of seventeen pounds and one quarter of rice, twenty-eight pounds of treacle, (seven pounds of which are used in the rice milk) two pecks of peas, and one peck and a half of oatmeal, weekly, boiled with the beef and pork, and for milk broth; eighty quarts of milk, and seven quarts extraordinary for the sick room.

It appears, that in the account of the year 1802, the infirmary is charged with butter, £60. 19s.—cheese, £95. 13s. 4d. which is 2¼d. each for the former and 4¼d. each for the latter article. An allowance of 3½d. per week, in lieu of butter, having since taken place, it is a subject the committee thinks worth taking into consideration, inasmuch as there is little variation, if any, in the price of butter since that time.

ROBERT PARTRIDGE, *Deputy-Governor.*

EDWARD RIGBY.

JAMES HUDSON.

JOHN BROWNE.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

Norwich, September 26th, 1805.

At this Court it was ordered, that the report be printed, and a copy of it sent to each guardian, and the same be taken into consideration at the next Court.

At the following Court, Nov. 5, 1805, the report was taken into consideration, and “ It appearing
 “ that the time of the weekly committees is almost
 “ entirely occupied in attending to the out-door al-
 “ lowances, and it being the desire of the members
 “ of such committees to be excused from superin-
 “ tending the management of the workhouse in
 “ future; it is ordered, that a committee be ap-
 “ pointed solely to regulate the internal manage-
 “ ment of the workhouse, and that (here follow the
 names of ten gentlemen) do compose such com-
 “ mittee, and that they have full power to carry into
 “ execution all, or any of the measures recommended
 “ to be adopted by the above report, and to report
 “ to this Court, from time to time, as they may
 “ think necessary.”

The new appointed committee entered upon their duty with a confident expectation of effecting some useful regulations, but were in a short time so interrupted and thwarted by the interference of the very persons who had before professed "a desire to be "excused any concern in the internal management "of the workhouse," that they were under the necessity of resigning their situation as a committee for the internal management of the house, but not before they had made such a progress in the plan for the poor dining together, that it has been adopted ever since; and which appears to be the only useful regulation which has resulted from their labors.

In the summer of 1805, soon after I became mayor, the small-pox prevailed much in the city, and I thought it right to convene a meeting of the inhabitants, to consider of the best means of checking its progress; and being desirous of obtaining information on the subject, I received from the surgeon who attended the workhouse, the following report of the state of the disease in that place.

An account of the persons in the different rooms in the workhouse, down with the small-pox and recovering:—Long room 8—washers' room 6—family room 7, 1 in danger—county's room 3—girls' room 4, 1 in danger—school room 1—total 29.

Not one hath been inoculated.

July 13th, 1805.

JAMES ROBINSON.

An account of persons, in the different rooms in the workhouse, that have not had the small-pox:—Long room 5—family room 9—girls' room 11—lying-in room 4—total 29. Except one adult, all children.

July 13th, 1805.

JAMES ROBINSON.

This being read at the meeting of the inhabitants, and the committees of the workhouse fearing it might prejudice them in the public opinion, the following resolution of a special Court passed on the 31st of July, 1805.

Resolved—That this Court is perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the weekly committees in the management of the workhouse, and that the prevalence of the small-pox in it is not to be attributed to any remissness on their parts, but that they are justly entitled to the thanks of this Court for their uniform attention to the duties of their office.

In the beginning of September, 1805, James Neild, Esq. of Chelsea, visited this city, with the same benevolent motive to which, for so many years, he has devoted so much of his time, and I may add, so much of his income. The reader need not be told, that in visiting prisons, and other abodes of the wretched, this gentleman has probably rendered more essential service to the cause of humanity, than any individual living; by suggesting the most judicious arrangements in the economy of prisons, by detecting and exposing abuses equally injurious to the public and hurtful to the health and morals of the prisoners, and particularly by his kind assistance to unfortunate debtors, very many of whom owe their liberation and return to their families to his exertions, as secretary to the society for the relief of Debtors imprisoned for Small Debts.

Workhouses but too frequently rival prisons, as abodes of misery, and as such have equally excited the attention of Mr. Neild; and after visiting the several prisons in the city, he applied to me, as

mayor, for permission to visit the workhouse, and I readily accompanied him thither.—As was his custom, he transmitted an account of his visit to the workhouse, to his benevolent friend Dr. Lettsom, who inserted it in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1805, and it is as follows :

“ *MR. URBAN,*

The history of punishments inflicted by one class of human beings on another, forms a dreadful catalogue of cruelty as well as of depravity. They are prominent in every government, and happy is that whose penal laws tend to reform the offender by salutary impressions on the mind, rather than by corporal inflictions; as rational conviction is more permanent than compulsion from the dread of pain; one begets virtuous reflection, the other obduracy and ferocious passions.

If these sentiments be applicable to hardened offenders, they are certainly more so to the period of youth, when the mind is open to conviction, and more capable of acquiring reformation, as may be deduced by contrasting the effects produced in the management of the workhouse of Lynn, and of Aylsham, with that of the opulent city of Norwich, in which a species of punishment has been practised that has long been the opprobrium of the slaveholder; and the reader will see with painful emotion, in the annexed plate, an accurate representation of those instruments of torture which have been applied on juvenile years in this workhouse, and where the fatality is more destructive to youth than was formerly even the revenge of Crete,

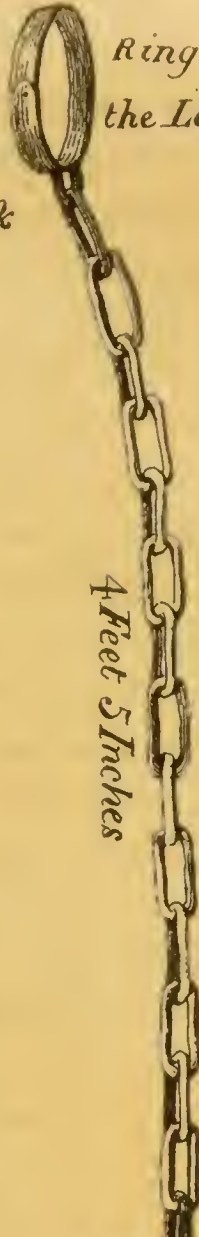
————— *Posuit immania templa.*

In foribus, letum Androgeo; tum pendere penas

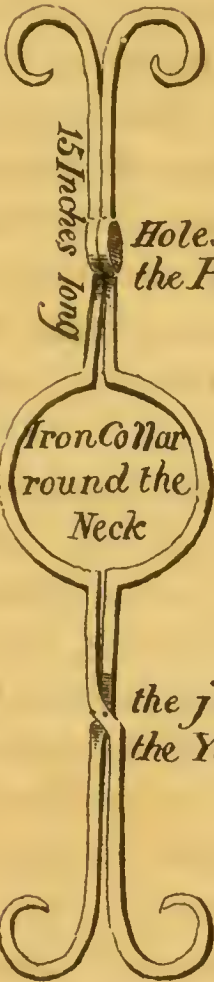
Iron Ring
round the Leg.



Padlock



4 Feet 5 Inches

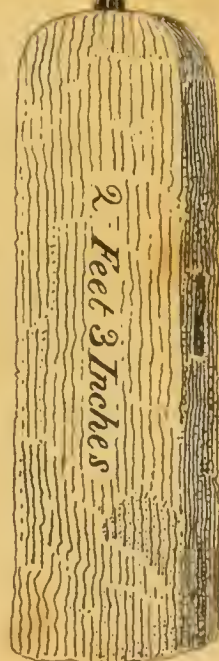


15 Inches long

Holes for the Padlock.

Iron Collar
round the
Neck

the joint where
the Yoke opens.



2 Feet 3 Inches

in circumference
2 Feet 2 Inches

Cecropidæ jussi (miserum) septena quotannis
Corpora natorum ; stat ductis sortibus urna.

Virg. Æn. VI. l. 20.

For certainly, in this workhouse, health and life cannot be highly estimated, when a mortality, shocking to every humane feeling, is allowed to prevail, in consequence of filth and neglect, as well as of the small-pox, by which not a single infant should be suffered to perish while vaccination, which has already preserved upwards of one million of infants from this most fatal of all pestilence, affords a security from its poison ; a poison so deleterious, that where it does not kill, too often inflicts blindness, the evil, and various other calamities, from which, happily for the human race, the cow-pox, in its effects, is exempt, as well as from every other malady, or inconvenience injurious to present or future health, except in the imagination of its opponents.

While reflecting with pain on the misery and apathy prevalent in this workhouse, let it be recorded to the honour of many of the respectable citizens of Norwich, that a plan has been adopted, under the patronage and support of Edward Rigby, Esq. the present mayor, and other professional gentlemen, for the purpose of exterminating the small-pox by vaccination ; which, indeed, has been already generally effected in every government in Europe except the English, and where the strains of the Mantuan bard may be no longer appropriate.

Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo ;
Quos dulcis vitæ exortes, et ab ubere raptos
Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo.

Virg. Æn. VI. l. 426.

These benevolent and patriotic characters might well exclaim, when they heard of the state of their workhouse, “surely an angel from heaven sent Mr. Neild thither.” Of one of those characters I venture to quote the words of my friend, in his letter to me from Norwich: “I find, upon enquiry, that Mr. Rigby, the worthy chief magistrate, has long been endeavouring to effect a reform in the system of the workhouse; to introduce cleanliness, vaccination, and a medical committee: He is himself a surgeon of the first abilities, as the state of the hospital testifies.” Hence it must be cordially hoped, that this distinguished magistrate, and the other respectable inhabitants of Norwich, will duly investigate the causes of the dreadful mortality in their workhouse, to whom the animated appeal of the poet,

Their blood, like sacrificing Abels, cries

To you for justice ———. Shaksp. Rich. II.

demands their serious interference, in the view of

JOHN COAKLEY LETTSON.

My dear Friend,

After I sent you my remarks on the Bury workhouse, I little imagined I should so soon write to you again on the same subject; but I cannot withhold what I have this day witnessed, therefore postponing my prison-history for a few days, will proceed with my occasional visits to the workhouses. At Thetford I found the poor farmed at three shillings per head, per week, clothing included. The keeper is a wool-comber. The house is old; the beds and bedding, and rooms, very clean, and well ventilated; all the children had shoes and stockings on, their hands, face, and necks clean, (the boys at Bury

were all barefoot, bare legged, and dirty,) and some attention had been paid to their education, but they were too young, and had been there too short a time to make much progress. At Lynn the children were at church morning and afternoon; their singing delightful; they were decently and uniformly clothed, and properly fed (not farmed) by the parish; religiously educated, and, as far as my observations, well attended to. At Aylsham, the poor-house is one of the best I have seen, and stands a lasting monument of the liberality and humanity of the gentlemen concerned. The situation most luxuriant; the buildings well constructed; the rooms spacious and lofty, and well ventilated, and remarkably clean; the diet very good, and the poor well attended to in every respect.

I come now to the most melancholy and painful task my pen was ever employed in, where I least expected it, and will scarcely be credited. The poor of this city (Norwich) are, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, under the management of sixty guardians, one of whom is appointed governor for the year. As I had frequently met with much petulance and obstruction in my visits to these places, I waited on the worthy chief magistrate, Mr. Rigby, mayor of the city, and he very readily and politely accompanied me. It is called the Duke's Palace Work-house, having formerly been the ducal residence of the Norfolk family. The building is old. The average number in the house about five hundred and fifty. In the first room I visited, there were forty-two beds, ten of them cribs for single persons, and the others had two in each; there being seventy-

four persons in this room. At the entrance, and in the room, is a most offensive and indecent privy, something like a watchman's box, and so much out of repair, and so situated, that the sexes cannot be separated when decency most requires it. The paupers ate, drank, and slept on their beds, having no other room to live in; the floors, from their filthy state, could not have been swept for a long time; the windows and casements small; the latter all shut; the windows dirty, and almost covered with cob-webs; the air throughout extremely foetid and impure. There was a leaden sink in the room, down which was constantly thrown every species of filth. Near this room was a stone sink and a water-pipe, the cock of which would not turn, nor had it the appearance (from the dry rubbish in it) of having been used for a long time. Every other room was equally filthy as the one described, from the same cause—offensive privies, and they were alike crowded. The beds contained two, and very frequently three persons each, but in one there was a family of *seven*!!

In the boys' room were offensive tubs as urinals; these are daily emptied into a sink in the room, and it did not appear to have been lately washed. One bed in the room was particularly offensive; from an infirmity of the boy who slept in it, his urine passed completely through the bedding, and was suffered to accumulate on the floor to a very putrid degree. The appearance of the poor was singularly squalid, dirty, and miserable, and their clothing ragged and wretched. There is no room set apart for the sick, as an infirmary; and from the records in the book,

and the surgeon's certificate, it appears, that in July last the small-pox raged much in the house; twenty-nine persons, all children, were ill of it at one time, and, shocking to humanity, were intermixed with the paupers in seven rooms. Twenty-nine other children, who had not had the small-pox, were in these rooms, and had been so long exposed to the infection that they could not be secured from it either by removal or inoculation; most of these eventually had the disease, and eight deaths were the consequence of it. All this occurred in July.

During the time of inspecting the rooms, all the paupers, except the very aged and infirm, were congregated in the court-yard, among whom, one boy particularly attracted my attention. He had round his neck an iron-collar called a yoke, with four projecting prongs, secured by a large clumsy iron padlock; upon examining his neck, it was slightly galled; upon one leg was a strong iron ring fastened near the ankle like a hand-cuff, to which was attached a massy chain about four feet five inches long, at the end of this chain was a log of wood two feet three inches long, and two feet two inches in circumference, weighing altogether *twenty-two pounds*. With this incumbrance he slept every night; but during the hours of work in the day the chain and log were taken off, that he might have the use of his legs to spin; but the yoke round his neck had never been taken off during three weeks in which he had been in this state of punishment; as soon as he had finished his work, the chain and log were regularly fastened on his leg, and in that state he passed the night. Every Sunday he was locked up by himself

all the day with his irons on. He told me, in presence of the mistress of the house, that this punishment was to continue for six months, and this was not contradicted by her: He complained that the ring had made his leg sore, and on taking his stocking off there appeared some scabs and slight excoriations upon it.—He was twelve years of age; his name William Rayner; his father dead, and his mother run away.—Under these circumstances I requested the worshipful the mayor would have the goodness to order his irons to be taken off, and that he would oblige me with permission to take them to his house, that the drawing I now inclose might be taken of them; and I can with truth say, that for these very many years I have not seen the most atrocious felon ironed in so severe a manner. It was told me, that this boy had been frequently sent to the city bridewell for petty thefts, and that he was *incorrigible*. This, however, did not turn out to be the truth, for, the next morning, I went to the bridewell, and, together with the keeper, examined the books for ten years past, when it appeared, that this boy was sent to bridewell for two days, the 18th of April, 1804, for running away from the workhouse, not for theft; and the keeper told me he never was in custody there before or since; that he is not *incorrigible*, I am inclined to believe, for he had both sense and gratitude to come running after the mayor and myself, and thank us feelingly for his deliverance.

The following account of the deaths in this workhouse for two years and nine months last past, proves two things; first, that the wretched state in which I

found it was neither an accidental nor a temporary circumstance; secondly, that nothing is more destructive to human life than shutting up so many persons in close rooms, surrounded by every species of filth, and where they constantly breathe the foulest air.

Deaths. Average number in the house.

1803—93. . . . 558 Deaths, one in six.

1804—81. . . . 424 Deaths, nearly one in five.

9 months in

1805—85. . . . 553 Deaths, calculated for the whole year, is one in five.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your much obliged,

Norwich, Sept. 4.

JAMES NEILD.”

Before this account appeared, the circumstances of Mr. Neild’s visit had been talked of, and excited a considerable sensation in Norwich; in consequence of which, a special court of guardians was called, on the 19th of September, at which the following report, from the acting committees, was presented, and the following resolutions of the Court were in consequence passed :

“ 19th Sept. 1805. (COPY.)

This day the following report was made to this Court, and is ordered to be entered amongst the proceedings of this Court, as follows—that is to say;

To the Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, and Guardians of the Poor, in the city and county of Norwich, and liberties of the same.

We, the committees appointed by this Court to superintend the management of the workhouse, and for various other purposes, beg leave to report to the

special Court, that some circumstances have occurred in the Duke's Palace Workhouse, of so important a nature, as to make it our indispensable duty to submit them to the Court without delay.

William Rayner, a lad in the workhouse, about twelve years of age, has been frequently guilty of many irregularities, particularly in escaping from the house, at least seven times, and being found secreted in stables, dying-offices, and other places in the city; that in consequence of such conduct, and to prevent his escape, it has been found necessary to put on his neck an instrument known by the name of the pot-hooks, and on his leg a large wooden clog. That on Sunday, the 25th day of August last, Wm. Stannard, the master, on the repeated promises of future good behaviour of the said William Rayner, and on his assurances that he would return to the house, took off these articles, and suffered him to go out; but that on the same day he was discovered in the garden of Mr. Alderman Baseley, having gotten over the wall. That in consequence the said Wm. Rayner was brought back to the workhouse, and his conduct having been reported to the committee, held the next day, the members present considered it absolutely necessary, that the pot-hooks and clog should again be placed on him, and it was accordingly done by the master, by their directions verbally given.

That on Wednesday, the 4th day of September instant, about half-past six o'clock in the evening, the mayor of this city, accompanied by Mr. Neild, (a gentleman who is in the habit of visiting workhouses, and places of confinement, though not

possessed of any official character,) called at the workhouse, with a view to examine it, and in going through the large yard for that purpose, they observed the said William Rayner with the pot-hooks and clog upon him, whom they interrogated respecting them; after which the mayor desired that they should be taken off, which was accordingly done, in the presence of upwards of one hundred persons belonging to the workhouse, who were collected together. And that both the gentlemen having made some public observations on the supposed punishment, and the situation of the lad, and caused these articles to be weighed, the mayor took them away in his carriage: That on the following day the said William Stannard was required, by the mayor, to appear before him, at the Guildhall, and to bring with him any other pot-hooks which he might have in his possession; and that he accordingly attended and delivered up to the mayor three more pot-hooks; and he was then bound over, at the next assizes for this city, to answer such charges as should be then exhibited against him; and Thos. Warren, at the requisition of the mayor, entered into a recognizance to attend at such assizes, and give evidence against the said William Stannard.

We beg leave further to report to this Court, that though we doubted the authority of any individual magistrate or guardian thus to interfere in the management of the workhouse, yet we abstained from taking any measures in opposition to the steps which the mayor had pursued, without having previously obtained the directions of this Court, but reports having been circulated through the city, that the

boy had been much injured by the treatment he had received, we caused him to be carefully examined by Mr. James Robinson, one of the city surgeons, on the 5th instant, in the presence of some of the members of the committees; and the said Mr. Robinson was perfectly satisfied that the boy had not received the slightest injury, and such examination was repeated on the 7th inst. by Mr. Robinson, assisted by Mr. Keymer, whose joint report was equally satisfactory as that made by Mr. Robinson solely. Notwithstanding these reports of the surgeons, it being still believed by many credulous persons, that the boy was materially hurt, and that in consequence he had been actually sent to the hospital, we deemed it right he should undergo a third examination, by medical men of the first eminence in the city, and unconnected with this corporation, which accordingly took place on Sunday, the 8th instant; and these gentlemen, after having directed the boy to be completely stripped, minutely examined him, and having interrogated him on the subject, signed and delivered to us the following certificate:—“ We, the undersigned, having, at a
 “ request of a committee of the court of guardians,
 “ examined William Rayner, a pauper in the work-
 “ house, do find him in perfect health, without
 “ either wound, contusion, or excoriation, in any
 “ part of his body. (Signed)
 “ Rich. Lubbock, M.D. “ P. M. Martineau.
 “ James Alderson, M.D. “ William Dalrymple.
 “ *Norwich, Sept. 8, 1805.*”

We, your committees, beg leave further to report, that the restraint under which the said William

Rayner was placed, is a similar mode to that which has prevailed in the workhouse, and we believe in some public charities beyond human memory; and, indeed, we understand it was much more frequently imposed in former times than in late years, and we consider it more efficacious than imprisonment in bridewell, or any corporal punishment.

It generally excites a sense of shame and contrition in the offender, without any injury to his person, and it operates as an example to deter other paupers from similar misconduct. But though your committees feel perfectly satisfied with the propriety of their conduct, and with the rectitude of the motives by which they have been actuated, yet such has been the sensation produced by the above-mentioned circumstances within the house, and so painful and injurious have been the reports industriously circulated without, that we do not hesitate to assure the Court, that without its interference your committees will be no longer able to discharge the trust reposed in them with credit to themselves, or advantage to the public service; we therefore request the Court will come to such resolutions on the facts we have stated, and give your committees such directions for their future guidance as to the Court shall seem most advisable. (Signed.)

Norwich, Sept. 16, 1805."

And the said report being taken into consideration, it was thereupon unanimously resolved,
 "That the thanks of this Court are most deservedly due to the respective members of the acting committees, for their uniform and unwearied attention to the general interests of this corporation, which

have been unceasingly directed to the true comfort and happiness of the poor under their care.

And that the conduct of William Stannard, the master of the workhouse, acting under the orders of the committee, in conformity to the established mode of punishment, was perfectly justifiable and correct.”*

On this and a former vote of thanks, I shall only observe, that mere assertions are not proofs; that votes of thanks cannot be considered either as arguments or as evidence; and that in passing these votes, the committees had themselves too large a share to render the praise quite unequivocal.

A defence of the guardians, in part founded on the preceding report, with animadversions on Mr. Neild, by William Firth, Esq. at that time steward of Norwich, appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1805, which was answered, much at large, by Dr. Lettsom, in the supplement to the same magazine for December.—In the magazine for December, there also appeared another effort to exculpate the guardians, from the late Mr. John Gurney, whose weight of character alone had ever a favourable influence on any cause he advocated, but it was not equal to the putting down truth.—I insert this, not only because it is perhaps an act of justice to those whom he defended, but because I was myself induced to answer it.

Mr. Gurney's letter appeared in the Gentleman's

* Mr. Stannard was probably justified in obeying the orders of the committees, but the committees had certainly no legal power to order the punishment of any pauper. See sec. 9 of the Workhouse Act,

Magazine for December, 1805, p. 1124, and is as follows :

“ Earltam, near Norwich, December 17.

Having qualified myself to give the precise information on the charges brought by James Neild, Esq. against the guardians of our poor, in respect to the old workhouse; in order to a clear elucidation, I shall quote the words of his letter, as they constitute the several charges, and subjoin the result of my examination :

“ In the first room I visited there were forty-two
“ beds, ten cribs for single persons, and the others
“ had two in each bed; there being seventy-four in
“ this room.”

The dimensions of this room were—length, seventy-four feet two inches; width, thirty feet two inches; height, nine feet nine inches.

“ At the entrance, and in the room, is a most in-
“ decent and offensive privy, something like a watch-
“ man’s box; and so much out of repair, and so
“ situated, that the sexes cannot be separated when
“ decency most requires it.”

What is thus called was a night-stool, inclosed in a box as described, applied to the use of those whose age or infirmity disqualified them from going down stairs. The room was exclusively appropriated to men (mostly old and infirm); only one woman, the wife of one of the paupers, who acted as nurse, being in it; so that the alledged indecency, as to the separation of the sexes, is groundless.

“ The paupers ate, drank, and slept on their beds,
“ having no other room to live in.”

This statement is generally correct; and the guar-

dians, lamenting the inconvenience, have provided accommodations in the new house, to prevent it in future.

“The floors, from their filthy state, could not have been swept for a long time.”

The room has been three times white-washed in the preceding twelve months; the last time only two months prior to James Neild’s visit. It was swept every morning; the floor washed at least once a week, and the stairs and passages throughout the house every morning.

“The windows and casements small, the latter all broke; the windows dirty, and almost covered with cobwebs.”

This representation appeared to me, on going to the room, so void of fact, that I employed an ingenious and respectable architect to measure the windows; and he reports:

“There are ten windows, seven of which are eight feet nine inches long, and four feet high; two five feet nine inches long, and four feet nine inches high; one four feet nine inches square: The whole equal to three hundred and twenty-two feet superficial. In the ten windows, twenty-two casements, equal to seventy-one feet superficial. In one of the windows several of the small quarries were broken and the lead burst; in some others there were here and there a quarry (about two inches square) broken; there were several without a broken quarry. The cobwebs I did not notice; but that article escaped my recollection particularly to examine; I must have been struck by it had it been very obvious, which, in two months

“from the time of white-washing, is hardly possible.”

“There was a leaden sink in the room, down which was constantly thrown every species of filth.”

There is not (or was) any sink whatever in the room. So much for the room that forms the grand ground of indictment. James Neild proceeds to say :

“Every other room was equally filthy as the one described, and from the same cause, offensive privies.”

There are upwards of thirty rooms, out of which, I am assured, James Neild only visited seven or eight: In only four or five rooms the paupers, whose circumstances required it, were accommodated with night-stools. There were no erections that could warrant the other term.

“The beds contained two, and very frequently three persons each; but in one there was a family of seven.”

The rooms here described had on each side a range of inclosed and separated closets, for the convenience of a family being together. The family of seven, alluded to, did not lodge in one bed. Susan Edwards, the mother, told me that the eldest, a daughter, aged eleven, lodged in the girls' room; two, aged nine and six, in a crib by her bed-side; three, aged four, three, and two, with her in the bed. The closet, though a small apartment, was large enough for a bed, and then a space for a chair and table, round which the children could all collect upon occasions that required it.

I now come to the boys' room ; which being now empty, I can only state, that I am well assured the vessels described were every morning emptied and cleaned ; and that the floor under the particular bed described, was so frequently washed, as to render a putrid accumulation impossible.

I have the authority of one of the surgeons of the house for stating, that in five rooms, and not seven, were small-pox patients, and they were thus situated : Long room, eight with small-pox, four to have it ; washers' room, six with small-pox, none to have it ; family room, six with small-pox, nine to have it ; county's room, three with small-pox, none to have it ; girls' room, four with small-pox, six to have it.

The want of a sick room, and the incommodious arrangement of the house were such, that with every wish to act for the best, the choice of means was rendered peculiarly difficult.

With respect to the boy Rayner, his conduct was such as to call for some strong and striking measure of coercion. The mode of punishment adopted has only, in very rare instances, indeed been resorted to ; it is formidable in description, but does not appear to have been severe in its effect. I think it, however, better laid aside, as it must, at any rate, be allowed to have the " appearance of evil ;" and, under the care of less humane guardians, might be improperly used.

It is admitted by all parties, that during the few weeks that the attention and attendance of the master was divided between his care of the old house and making provision for the paupers in the new, and the consequent unsettlement amongst so

large a number, the order and regularity of the house was not so strictly kept up. Candour called upon James Neild to make allowance for so peculiar a situation, as the period of removing a family of near six hundred, and to have noticed it; and not wholly to have passed by the prominent fact of a new house being provided, which he is said to have looked over and approved.

Ill-directed efforts to do good are too frequently attended with mischief. In the present case, had James Neild given himself leisure for a correct examination and dispassionate consideration of all circumstances, and applied himself to the committee of guardians, I am satisfied he would have met a liberal and friendly reception; and, by his observations and advice, I have no doubt would have aided their endeavours to provide, in the new house, every reasonable accommodation for the poor,

JOHN GURNEY.”

My answer to this letter was inserted in the same magazine for January: It was equally due to truth, and an act of justice to Mr. Neild, that I should answer it.

“ *To JOHN GURNEY, of Earltam, Esq.*

SIR,

I wish to call to your recollection, my having met you in the street, soon after your return from Weymouth, I believe in September or October last, and my having requested you to favour me with half an hour's conversation on the subject of our workhouse, which you declined. Permit me to say, that had you indulged me in this instance, you probably would not have committed yourself, in giving your

respectable name to the misrepresentations in the Gentleman's Magazine for December last, p. 1124; and I should have been spared the unpleasant task of noticing them in this public manner.

Having been with Mr. Neild when he visited the workhouse, I beg leave to say, that the several facts which I shall adduce, are facts within my own knowledge, whereas most of yours must necessarily have been derived from the information or assurances of others. I shall follow your example in taking your several articles in succession.

1st. "What is thus called was a night stool," &c. Your having called it by a name different to that by which Mr. Neild designated it, cannot have altered its nature; and I have the evidence of my offended senses in saying, that it was a most filthy and disgusting apparatus, utterly unfit to have been in the inside of any human habitation; and that it must have greatly contributed to deteriorate the air in the room, which, even without it, could not have been very pure, when seventy-four persons inhabited it night and day. Whether females were constant inhabitants of the room I know not; but I am much mistaken, if there were not some there when Mr. Neild visited it. You probably, however, do not know that time out of mind, there has been a singular partiality, in the managers of our workhouses, for these accommodating contrivances. More than twenty years ago I was elected a temporary guardian. On my first visit, in that capacity, to St. Andrew's workhouse, I observed, in a close and badly ventilated passage, between two sick rooms, (for at that time there were sick rooms in use) and

near the door of each room, open tubs as receptacles for the ordure produced in each room : These tubs were very capacious, and for an obvious reason ; smaller ones would have occasioned to the assistants greater fatigue, by more frequent journeys down stairs to empty them. As a *fresh* guardian I thought these very offensive ; and as a medical man, I thought them very injurious ; and, like yourself, employed an ingenious architect to examine the premises, to ascertain whether water-closets could not be made in them. His report being satisfactory, I applied to the Court, and water-closets were made, and for a while were used, in my humble but perhaps mistaken opinion, with a manifest advantage over the former accommodations ; but the water which served them, being raised by mechanical means, and requiring every now and then a little muscular exertion, and *labour* being almost universally discouraged in *work-houses*, they were *humanely* suffered to fall into disuse, the apertures were nailed up, and the old and more favourite mode of disposing of personal superfluities again resorted to.

2d. “ This statement is generally correct, and the “ guardians lamenting,” &c. The inconveniences arising from the abominable custom of the poor, eating, drinking, and sleeping in the same rooms, have indeed been a long while lamented by *some* of the guardians ; and a strong report on this subject was made by the special provision committee,*

* To prevent this superfluous consumption of provisions in future, we think it would be right to make all the poor dine together ; and in the Duke’s Palace Workhouse we found two large rooms at liberty, which would very commodiously answer the purpose of eating rooms ;

many years ago, but it was not adopted by the Court, and of course never acted upon. It is also true, that in October last another report was made by another provision committee, (excuse my egotism in telling you, that I myself moved for both these committees); and in this the propriety of the poor dining together was again urged; the Court has not, however, yet taken it into consideration, but it is referred to another committee to be reconsidered, and re-reported; though evidently in no hurry about the business, I would still hope the Court will ultimately consent to a measure so obviously requisite and salutary.

3d. "The room has been three times white-washed," &c. Whether your assertion be true in fact or not, the actual state of the room certainly bore no testimony to it: It was throughout disgustingly nasty; and it appeared very improbable, that the dirt on the floor, (and particularly that under the beds) could have accumulated in the short interval of twenty-four hours.

4th. "This representation appeared to me," &c. Had your eye been fortunate enough to have caught a glance of the errata in the magazine for November,

and as there appears to be no obstacle to its being done, we recommend to this Court, that the poor should in future all dine together, being persuaded, that they would be more equally fed, the general consumption of food would be less, the notorious practice of selling provisions would be put a stop to; it would be more cleanly, as one source of dirt is the eating upon the beds; it would be more decent and orderly; and the whole number of paupers being once a day collected together, the real number in the house could be better ascertained than it is at present. See reports of special provision committee, &c. By Edward Rigby, 1788, p. 41.

your ingenious architect might have been saved some trouble, for you would have found, instead of *broke*, it should have been *shut*. Mr. Neild tells me, the original sent to the printers was thus; “the window panes and casements small, the latter all “shut.” That the panes or quarries were not large, your ingenious architect proves in saying, they were but two inches square.

5th. “There is not, nor was any sink whatever in “the room,” &c. I have just been into the room, and certainly cannot now find a sink in it, nor even a vestige of your night-stool.* You may be right too in saying, there never was one, but you might have found one at the top of the stairs; and whatever was the exact situation of the sink or sinks, I cannot forget that there was one, down which much filth appeared to have been recently thrown.

6th. “There are upwards of thirty rooms,” &c. We visited all the rooms the mistress of the house led us into, but it is likely enough we did not see all in the house; we saw enough, however, to be convinced that it was a most wretched residence for human beings; and such as disgraced not only the management of the house, but even the civilization of the city.

7th. “The room here described,” &c. Not being near Mr. Neild when he obtained this information, I can personally say nothing of the circumstance, but, had it been as you stated, I think too many were crammed together.

8th. “I now come to the boys’ room,” &c. I was

* This workhouse has been cleared of its inhabitants since Mr. Neild’s visit, and the furniture removed.

too much disgusted with this filthy room, not to recollect perfectly that the circumstances were precisely as stated by Mr. Neild. The wooden urinals had no appearance of having been recently washed; the common deposit of urine was thick on the bottoms and sides of these vessels; and the putrid accumulation under one boy's bed, which your misinformer says was impossible, was most offensively conspicuous, both on the under-surface of the bed and on the floor.

9th. "I have the authority of one of the surgeons," &c. I have also the written authority of the same surgeon, signed with his own name, and which is much at variance with yours. Compare them both.

ACCOUNT IN MAGAZINE.

| | <i>With the small-pox.</i> | <i>To have it.</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Long room | 8 | 4 |
| Washers' room | 6 | 0 |
| Family room | 6 | 9 |
| County's room | 3 | 0 |
| Girl's room | 4 | 6 |
| | — | — |
| Total | 27 | 19 |

THE SURGEON'S ACCOUNT.

An account of persons in the different rooms in the workhouse, down with the small-pox and recovering:—Long room 8—washers' room 6—family room 7, 1 in danger—county's room 3—girls' room 4, 1 in danger—school room 1—lying-in room 0—total 29; all children.

Not one hath been inoculated.

July 13th, 1805.

JAMES ROBINSON.

An account of persons in the different rooms in the workhouse, that have not had the small-pox:—
 Long room 6—washers' room 0—family room 9—
 county's room 0—girls' room 11—school room 0—
 lying-in room 4—total 30. Except one adult, all children.

July 13th, 1805.

JAMES ROBINSON.

The difference between the total numbers of these accounts, you will find is thirteen, more than a fourth of the highest number. I will acknowledge, that Mr. Robinson has within a few days attempted to explain this variance by saying, the account he gave you was a *corrected* one; and he said too, that some time ago he gave me a similar corrected account. I recollect nothing of this; but if I did, I should still consider the first account as the most correct; was it indeed probable, in reporting such a melancholy instance of mismanagement, by which so many human lives were exposed to danger, and eventually some were sacrificed, and in which he himself could not be wholly without blame, that he should magnify the circumstance, and exhibit it as worse than it actually was? or, had it been a circumstance of no interest, and in merely hastily numbering and setting down names he had made a mistake, is it not more likely that he would have erred in omissions rather than in additions? But, allowing it to have been exactly as you have stated it, what do your humane friends, the managers of this workhouse, gain in reputation by this diminished account? The principle of inattention is as much established, had the wretched number been half, as had it been double; and to this principle you have equally with Mr. Neild born testimony.

10th. "The want of a sick room," &c. You will be surprised when I tell you, that there were, and always had been, sick rooms in this workhouse; and that, had they been kept clean, they would have been adequate to the purpose; but the surgeons were not permitted to use them. It is difficult to imagine upon what principle of economy, policy, or humanity, this extraordinary inhibition could have been founded. It could not have arisen from an extraordinary crowded state of the house, for this was far from the case; on the contrary, some years ago, I believe in 1800, the house had double the number of persons in it; and yet, I am told, the sick rooms were at that time used as such. The annexed affidavit and letter will give you all I know on the subject; and, in the communication of so singular a circumstance, I have thought it right to put my testimony into the most unquestionable shape the law allows of.

Copy of Affidavit.

"CITY AND COUNTY OF NORWICH.

"*The deposition of Edward Rigby, Esq. Mayor*
 "of the said city, taken on oath before me, one of
 "his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said
 "city and county, this 1st day of Aug. 1805.

"This deponent saith, that on Saturday, the 13th
 "day of July last, he met James Keymer, one of the
 "city surgeons, in the street, and having expressed
 "to him this deponent's concern, at hearing there
 "were so many persons in the workhouse afflicted
 "with the small-pox, and that there was no separate
 "room appropriated for them, or to that effect;
 "he, the said James Keymer, replied, that he had

“ repeatedly applied to the committees to have a
 “ separate room for the sick ; but they told him, the
 “ said James Keymer, that they supposed he made
 “ this application to save himself trouble in visiting
 “ the patients in separate rooms, and that they, the
 “ said committees, should not grant such request.
 “ And this deponent farther saith, that the said
 “ James Keymer repeated such conversation more
 “ than once to this deponent, in the sword-bearer’s
 “ office, in this city. And this deponent further
 “ saith, that he visited the Duke’s Palace Work-
 “ house in this city, and he there saw Mr. James
 “ Robinson, another of the city surgeons, on Sunday
 “ morning, the 14th day of July, and suggested to
 “ the said James Robinson, the propriety of imme-
 “ diately removing the patients labouring under the
 “ small-pox in that house, from the several rooms in
 “ which they then were, and having such rooms ven-
 “ tilated, cleaned, and white-washed ; to which the
 “ said James Robinson said, that it could not be
 “ done without an application to the committee ;
 “ and he verily believed, if he were to make such
 “ an application, the committee would only laugh at
 “ him. And this deponent saith, that the said
 “ James Robinson had voluntarily delivered to this
 “ deponent, on the preceding day, the report of the
 “ state of the small-pox in the Duke’s Palace Work-
 “ house, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed ;*
 “ and that on that occasion, and at other times,
 “ the said James Robinson informed this depo-
 “ nent, that he had entered a similar report into

* This is the above certificate, signed James Robinson,

“ the usual book, for the inspection of the com-
 “ mittee. “ EDWARD RIGBY, Mayor.

“ Sworn before me this 1st day of August, 1805.

“ JOHN BROWNE.”

Copy of a Letter to EDWARD RIGBY, Esq.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I cheerfully comply with your request, and now
 “ send you a statement of part of Mr. Keymer’s con-
 “ versation at your house, on the evening of Monday,
 “ the 22d of July. In answer to an observation I
 “ made on the authority of Mr. Robberds, stating,
 “ that no formal communication had been made by
 “ the city surgeon to the committee of the court of
 “ guardians, on the state of the workhouse, in res-
 “ pect to the small-pox, I declare that Mr. Keymer
 “ said, that a formal and regular report on that sub-
 “ had been made to the committee by him, and that
 “ the proof of his having done so, was to be found
 “ in the book which he keeps as one of the surgeons
 “ in attendance at the workhouse; who added, that
 “ in a conversation he had on the same topic with
 “ some gentlemen of the committee, when he urged
 “ the propriety of immediately separating the small-
 “ pox patients from the other paupers of the house,
 “ and placing them together in one room; he was
 “ answered, that they (the gentlemen of the com-
 “ mittee) supposed he made that proposal for the
 “ sake of saving trouble to himself; and that it was
 “ his duty, and that he must go on, to attend the
 “ sick as they lay in the several rooms of the work-
 “ house as usual.

“ The above is, I assure you on my honour, not
 “ merely the substance, but almost the words of Mr.

“ Keymer’s reply to me when I made the observa-
 “ tion before-mentioned. I will only add, that
 “ though I am not willing to take an oath unneces-
 “ sarily, I am perfectly ready to corroborate this
 “ statement in the most solemn manner, if any seri-
 “ ous proceedings are intended to be instituted in
 “ this, by me much regretted, dispute.

“ I am, dear Sir, your’s respectfully,

“ W. DALRYMPLE.

“ *Norwich, August 1st, 1805.*”

11th. “ With respect to the boy Rayner,” &c.—
 I am pleased to find you think this mode of punish-
 ment should be laid aside, as you say it must at any
 rate have “ the appearance of evil.” I can give you
 another reason why it ought not to have been used,
 even by the present *humane* committee-men; it hap-
 pens to be contrary to the statute in that case made
 and provided. In the ninth section of the Norwich
 Workhouse Act, (Xth of Queen Anne) the only
 section which notices the punishment and correction
 of offenders in the workhouse; it is thus written :

“ And be it further enacted by the authority afore-
 “ said, that the said court or assembly so constituted
 “ as aforesaid, shall have, and hereby have power
 “ to inflict such correction and punishment on any
 “ poor person or persons, within the said hospital
 “ or hospitals, workhouse or workhouses, house or
 “ houses of correction, or that shall be set to work,
 “ that shall not conform to such rules and ordinances
 “ so made or to be made as aforesaid, or shall mis-
 “ behave themselves in the same; as to them shall
 “ seem reasonable. And that the mayor, for the
 “ time being, governor, deputy governor, or any of

“ the justices of the peace for the said city and
 “ county, from time to time, and at any time be-
 “ tween the said courts or assemblies, shall have,
 “ and hereby have power to inflict such correction
 “ and punishment as to them shall seem reasonable,
 “ on any such poor person or persons offending as
 “ aforesaid.”

Now the gentlemen who thought proper to order this extraordinary punishment to be inflicted on William Rayner, could not constitute a court or assembly, nor was any one of them, either the mayor, governor, deputy governor, or a justice of peace for the said city and county; and therefore could have no power whatever to punish any one in the house.

12th. “ It is admitted by all parties,” &c. In this sweeping clause of apology, you have acknowledged that the order and regularity of the house were not strictly kept up. I assure you there was no appearance of bustle from the cause you assign; it was in the beginning of September, and I believe the moving had scarcely commenced; and as a proof that there was no unusual press of business in the house, the master was gone to pay a visit into the country, and was not expected to return that day; as Mr. Neild therefore could not be conscious of this circumstance, there could be no want of candour in his not having noticed it; nor do I see the great necessity there was for his adverting to the other workhouse, though he certainly saw and approved it. His censure on the Duke’s Palace Workhouse was not directed to the building, but to the wretched system of mismanagement within its walls; and the

transfer of such a system to a better edifice would have been no advantage to the poor.*

13th. "Ill-directed efforts," &c. The first part of this sentence contains a sentiment which no one will controvert; but the latter part gives something like a fact, which I shall answer by saying, Mr. Neild did call upon two respectable members of the committee immediately after he left the workhouse; one of them was your partner, Mr. Webb, and the other was Mr. Scott; the latter only returned Mr. Neild's call.

Having gone through all your remarks on Mr. Neild's report, I cannot avoid observing, that you have omitted to notice the last fact in it, and which I am disposed to consider as the proof of the whole sum of them; I mean the melancholy list of deaths; the fact, probably you know as well as myself, cannot be disputed, nor do I believe Mr. Neild's deduction from it will be more easily gotten rid of. Is it indeed possible, in tracing the cause of such an extraordinary mortality, not to acknowledge that foul air, crowded rooms, and excessive filthiness, are in a high degree unfriendly to human life? Either this mortality is common in workhouses, or it is not common; if it be not, it follows that the management of this workhouse has been peculiarly bad; and if it be, it equally follows that workhouses have a direct tendency to destroy life. On the subject of workhouses, however, I beg leave to say, that I have a long while made up my opinion; my experience has fully convinced me, that they are of most

* *Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*

difficult management; that under the best management they are productive of more evil than good, and that under the worst they are productive of incalculable mischief. The late circumstances which have occurred in the Duke's Palace Workhouse, cannot have impaired this conviction; and the accumulated facts on this important subject contained in the parochial returns, which government has lately, with so much credit to itself, laid before the public, in a document,* which, in interest and importance to political economy, has not been equalled in this or any other country, have served not only fully to confirm it, but to induce my unqualified assent to Mr. Rose's remark on this subject, in his late excellent pamphlet founded on these returns; "that
 " one of the means we must look to for the improve-
 " ment of our system of poor laws, must be the abo-
 " lition of workhouses." †

Allow me to conclude with a word or two on Mr. Neild. Having been much with him when he was in Norwich, no one in this place can have had a better opportunity than myself of appreciating his character, and of becoming acquainted with the motives of his visits to our prisons, hospitals, workhouses, &c.; and I have no hesitation in saying, that I believe them to have been purely humane, perfectly disinterested, and entirely free from the petulance, and

* Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to an act passed in the 43d year of his Majesty, King George the Third, entitled " an Act for procuring Returns relative to the Expence and Maintenance of the Poor in England."

† Observations on the Poor Laws, and on the Management of the Poor, by the Right Hon. George Rose, M. P. Page 33.

malignity, and more especially the disingenuousness, which have been attributed to him. I think him peculiarly well qualified for the benevolent office he has undertaken, and have no doubt but the result of his indefatigable and well-conducted researches into these several abodes of misery, will be the greatest good to society. In investigating the state of the different places he visited in this city, I found him deliberate, comprehensive, and most minutely accurate; his suggestions of improvements, and they were not few, were judicious, in many instances ingenious, and in all of them of the best tendency. He had a manifest satisfaction in commending, and where there was just cause for it he was most ready and liberal of praise; and when compelled to censure, (and not to have done it with explicitness and publicity when there was unfortunately cause for it, would have defeated the important ends of his enquiries), I will venture to say, that he “set down nought in malice.” I ought to add, that his manners had in them much of suavity, and his conversation was highly interesting and instructive.

Your's, &c.

EDWARD RIGBY.

Norwich, Jan. 18th, 1806.”

It has been before noticed, that the proposal of the medical committee, to have the workhouse visited weekly, was acceded to, with the substitution of two guardians as visitors, instead of two of the inhabitants of the city at large; it was also ordered, at a court, held the 5th of November, 1805, “that such persons write down their remarks on the general state of the house, the conduct of the master, mistress, and servants, and the behaviour

“of the poor, in a book to be provided for that purpose.” Being mayor at that time, it became my turn, with Mr. Edward Squire, to make the first visit, at which, and at our subsequent visits, we made the following reports :

REPORT I.—*February 17 and 19, 1806.*

The rooms in general were clean, the staircases and landings well washed and sanded, the lodging rooms swept, the beds neatly made, and the windows open : The lodging rooms are not, now, occupied in the day ; the men keeping in the room No. 10, on the ground floor ; the women in the room No. 6 ; and the boys and girls being, all day, at work ; but the boys come into the men’s room, and the girls into the women’s room, at one o’clock, and in the evening ; and then, not until the men and women are gone to bed.

The men’s day room is too crowded, there being a hundred and fifteen who go into it. The women, who are not so numerous, are in two rooms, each larger than the men’s.

The surgery is too small, very dark, and inconvenient ; there is an unoccupied room near it, which would answer the purpose better.

The rooms in the house late Mr. Smyth’s, appropriated to the sick and to small-pox patients, are inadequate to the purpose. The women’s sick room adjoins the lying-in room ; and there are patients in it reported to have fever, which must expose the lying-in women to considerable danger. There were several men in the sick rooms who appear to be only infirm, and on looking into the surgeon’s book, they were not reported to be sick ; and on the contrary,

the greatest number of those reported to be sick, were not in the sick rooms. The surgeon said, that the sending patients into the sick rooms did not rest with him. We think great advantage would arise from having sick rooms at the infirmary.

We found the bedlam clean, and the lunatics properly arranged; but we have to notice that the wooden urinals used there were very filthy—they ought to be washed every day.

In No. 12 we were pleased to see a woman teaching more than twenty children to read; this should be encouraged and extended to all the children in the workhouse. The woman, however, had not proper books to make use of; she ought to be provided with some of the first books for children, printed with large types; and paste board alphabets, with very large letters, should be hung up in the room.

In the spinning school, many men, women, and children were at work, and the business seems well conducted by Mr. Norman, the master. We heard no complaints, except from Mary Fair and John Wilkins, in the spinning school, who asked permission for their liberty once a week.

Feb. 21, 1806, we visited the infirmary. This place is clean and well regulated; but we thought it singular, that no person belonging to the infirmary is ever removed into the sick room, nor were there in it any patients from the workhouse. In one corner of the yard, at a considerable distance from any other building, is a room formerly used for small-pox patients; it is now unoccupied; from its situation, it is particularly well calculated to prevent the communication of the disease, and we think

there can be no reason why it should not be used as formerly.

On examining the books, we found the accounts kept in the same unintelligible manner they are at the workhouse.

EDWARD RIGBY.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

REPORT II.—*August 10, 1806.*

The governor (William Firth, Esq.) having thought proper to accompany us in visiting the workhouse, and having, in his preceding report, recorded the principal remarks we made, we have only to add our testimony to the general cleanliness and good order of the house; to make some observations on the sick rooms, which he has omitted to notice; and to advert to what he is pleased to consider a difference of opinion between himself and us, upon a subject which we cannot think of much importance.

The women's sick room has been enlarged since our last visit, and is much improved, and the adjoining room is a valuable appendage to it, as a recovery room; but we have to remark, that it is not exclusively applied to the purpose for which, according to an entry in the surgeon's book, signed by the committee, it was expressly intended, namely, for *contagious* diseases; for of four patients in it, one was paralytic; another, a boy, dropsical; another, at that time an out-patient of the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, in a decline; and the other weak; none of which are contagious diseases. Under the same roof, but the approach to them by a different staircase, are a lying-in room; a room for patients under

small-pox and measles, a venereal room, a man's itch room, and a woman's itch room. These rooms are not well situated, and the lying-in room should not be within reach of infection from the small-pox and measles. We could not find a man's sick room, but were told that a sick man had been put into the man's itch room, a small room with three beds in it.

We lament to find the same small wretched room, which has been so often complained of, still used as a surgery, and particularly because the adjoining room, which is larger and would answer the purpose better, is still unoccupied.

We cannot help saying, that the arrangement for the sick is still very inadequate, and we apprehend serious inconvenience would arise, were any malignant disease to break out in the house; and we wish to refer the Court, again, on this very important subject, to the medical report of last year.

The question respecting the situation of the pump,* and on which the governor expresses an opinion adverse to ours, we conceive is a question of common sense, and not a philosophical one. The building committee first suggested its removal, and

* The part of Mr. Firth's report alluded to is as follows:—" Mr. Rigby and Mr. Squire seemed to think that the pump in the yard should be removed to the wall. In this I differ from them, for the running of waters in gutters across the yard, even though sullied and dirty, (not being stagnant) is a mean of purifying the atmospheric air, as it attracts the noxious and deleterious particles.

" I think the whole of the wall next the river, (except that part comprehending the range of privies and urine jars) should be laid open, and iron palisading substituted, which alteration would let in an immense flood of air across the quadrangle or area, and a constant refreshing and salubrious breeze to the paupers."

obviously, with no other view than the removal of a nuisance, and the promotion of cleanliness, in which we heartily concur with them; but it may be presumed, they never discussed the chemical theories of the evaporation of water, and its solution in air, to which the governor so ingeniously adverts; nor probably, without his philosophical suggestions, would they have suspected that the one cools and the other purifies the atmosphere; but knowing it, they may now tell him, that watering the whole area of the yard, occasionally, with a watering pot, will produce these salutary changes in the air quite as well, and rather in a more cleanly manner, than it is now effected.

We think there is an objection to the wall at the north end of the yard being taken down, on account of the great expence of an iron palisade; its exposing the paupers to the view of passengers on St. George's bridge; and producing a communication with persons on the river; and we can scarcely believe the wall, as it now stands, being a low one, can materially interrupt the governor's "immense flood of air," or the access of his "refreshing and salubrious breeze."

EDWARD RIGBY.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

REPORT III.—*January 23, 1807.*

Visited in the afternoon. The rooms in general were clean and well ventilated; but No. 3, which is appropriated to infirm old women, was offensive, and it must necessarily be so, while there are thirty-seven persons in it night and day, twelve of whom are confined to their beds.—The same remarks are

applicable to the rooms for infirm old men. We were so struck with the very uncomfortable state of the infirm persons in these two rooms, that we cannot avoid recommending an alleviation of it, and beg leave to urge the general Court, to direct the committees of the infirmary to send some of them thither, as vacancies occur.

No. 10, the general day room for men and women, boys and girls, is much too crowded. In the lodging rooms, where no persons remain in the day time, the beds were clean and well made, and the floors neatly sanded. It would be useful now and then to have fires in these rooms; in moist weather it would remove dampness, and in all weather it would quicken the circulation of air.

We were concerned to find the same miserable hole still used as a surgery, so justly characterised by Mr. Matchett, in his report, as only fit to clean shoes in.

The sick rooms are in the state mentioned in our last notice. In one of the rooms we observed a fire pot under a bed, with burning coals in it; on enquiry we have reason to fear this dangerous practice is not infrequent in the house; the fires being lighted with bakers' coals, a certain quantity is delivered to each room, and some of the paupers have been tempted to use them in this way: It ought, on no account, to be permitted, and probably the surest way to prevent it in future, is to use other materials for kindling fires.

EDWARD RIGBY.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

REPORT IV.—*July 9, 1807.*

Visited at one o'clock. The general appearance of the house being more cleanly, and its internal economy improved; we are concerned to repeat our notice of the exceptions to it, in the two rooms appropriated to infirm old men and women, in which many of them are constantly confined to their beds. These rooms are too much crowded, and even with the most frequent opening of windows, the air cannot be sufficiently pure. We must, therefore, again urge the necessity of reducing the numbers in these rooms, by sending some of the old people to the infirmary, as vacancies may occur in that part of the workhouse.

In No. 10, the day room for old married men and their wives, there are too many crowded together, and the old people are greatly annoyed by the number of boys and girls, young women with children, &c. The single old men and old women are much better accommodated in two large rooms on the opposite side of the yard: Another room is evidently wanted where the old married people may be less disturbed.

About two hundred and thirty of the paupers were at dinner, and decently arranged at long tables; but many of them used their fingers instead of knives and forks, which are not provided. This is a source of uncleanness, as they necessarily wipe their hands on their clothes. It would lessen this inconvenience were each person allowed a wooden spoon, the expence of which would be trifling. We observed, at dinner, several strong healthy young women, some of whom appear to have been inadvertently admitted

into the house, particularly Anne Rumsby, aged 20, and Mary Tight, aged 18; who both said they came in because they had no employment. Anne Rumsby comes from Arminghall, where, at this time, hands are wanted in hay making: She has a father there who has constant work, and her grandfather, who lives in the same parish, has a good situation. It would seem that both these persons are able to assist her, and by law (43 of Elizabeth) they are compellable to do it. We recommend the immediate discharge of these two young persons, and think there are few reasons which can justify the admission of such females into the house.

The bill of mortality, we lament to say, is still a melancholy one, exceeding the proportion of deaths in other similar establishments; forty having died since the beginning of January last. We think it very important that the cause of each death should be correctly recorded, that if the mortality cannot be prevented, the source of it may, at least, be ascertained.

EDWARD RIGBY.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

REPORT V.—December 18, 1807.

Visited at one o'clock. We have the satisfaction again to bear testimony to the general clean and improved state of the house; and we notice exceptions to it, as the most likely means of ultimately effecting its more perfect improvement.—In No. 3 we find the suggestion, in our report of July 9th, has been, *in part*, attended to, and the room has become cleaner and the air more pure, in consequence of the number of persons in it being reduced; but we fear this has

been done at the expence of the female sick room, into which some of these persons have been removed, and which is now become intolerably offensive, and very unfit for the reception of the sick; the stench in the room was, indeed, such, that we were obliged to leave it, after having entered it only a few paces. Had our former suggestion, above alluded to, been wholly complied with, and the supernumerary old women sent to the infirmary, there probably would have been no cause for the present complaint. At all events, it shews the necessity of a more adequate arrangement for the sick; and, as from the accession of space in the premises lately purchased of Mr. De Hague, there appears now to be ample room for the requisite alterations, we trust the Court will take this occasion to direct more suitable accommodations for them; and especially to prevent their being, in future, intermixed with any other persons.

We still think also, that the accommodation of the medical attendants is, on many accounts, important, and hope that a more convenient room will be found for the surgery, than the present wretched dark hole, which has so often been complained of.

On going into the house, on Sunday evening, every part of it appeared quiet and orderly. Were the lamp, which is now under the gateway, going into the yard, placed a little below the arch, and next to the yard, it would give as much light to the passage as it now does, and increase the light in the yard, which, on that side, seems to want it.

EDWARD RIGBY.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

REPORT VI.—*June 3, 1808.*

Visited at one o'clock. The *general* cleanliness and good state of the house are very commendably kept up; and no part is more distinguished for perfect neatness than the bedlam. The day being fine, all the doors and windows were open, and we could neither observe any vestiges of dirt, or detect any impurity in the air, except in the venereal room; and which, from the circumstance of salivation, is not, there, to be avoided. The paupers were regularly and very orderly arranged at the dinner tables; and we were pleased to find that a suggestion, respecting wooden spoons, formerly made by us, had been attended to.

We wish we could, with equal satisfaction, advert to the sick rooms, but we must repeat, and however irksome it may be, until some alteration take place in this important department, and as far as may be, conformably to the report made by the medical committee, on this subject, in the year 1805, we shall continue to report, that the arrangements for the sick are very deficient.

As a proof of the necessity there is for an attention to this subject, more especially to that part of it which relates to the care of patients under infectious diseases, we have to notice, that since our last visit, three persons have had typhus fever, two of whom died. We found also two women in bed in the large lodging room, No. 9, who had been ill of fever several days, though apparently with no bad symptoms. Such patients should, on no account, remain in a room where sixty persons sleep, if for no other reason than their being there

prevents the due ventilation of the room during the day.

In the family room were two females in the paroxysms of intermittents, one of whom had been ill a month; and in Bryant's room, which is not numbered, was a child with the measles; and another child, not having had the disease, was lying in the same bed. Were there proper and insulated sick rooms, these several patients might have been disposed of, so as not only to have facilitated the recovery of each individual, but to have prevented any infectious communication. The poor themselves are not competent to judge on such a subject; and in their own habitations, they have not the means of separation; but the latter is very practicable in a workhouse; and every method necessary to extinguish disease, may, surely, be adopted where there need be no want of judgment in making the necessary regulations, and where there can be no want of authority to enforce them.

EDWARD RIGBY.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

REPORT VII.—*November 4, 1808.*

The general state of the house being still commendably clean and satisfactory to us, we shall, as in our last report, confine our notice principally to the state of the rooms for the reception of the sick and the infirm. Since our last visit, three more persons have had typhus fever, and one of them, John Liddelow, died of it Sept. 23d, in the men's sick room. This is a small room, in the building late Mr. Smyth's; there are four beds in it, and in each of them we found a bed-rid infirm old man: These

infirm old men being placed here, in consequence of there not being sufficient room in No. 12, the room usually appropriated for such old persons. The men's sick room being thus occupied, there is no place whatever to put a casual sick male patient into. The other sick room, on a higher floor, is larger, better, and more airy, but is for females only; and at this time there being in it Mary Able and Elizabeth Martin, ill of typhus fever, no other patients, under common diseases, can be admitted without danger of an aggravation of their complaints by infection. Elizabeth Smith, however, who died yesterday of a cancer in utero, had been in this room, but was removed into the room adjoining, called the *recovery room*, where she died. The sick rooms thus occupied, precluding the admission of patients under common diseases, they necessarily remain in the rooms where they happen to sicken, with serious inconvenience to themselves, and to the other inhabitants of those rooms.

It is truly unpleasant to notice so often, and to so little purpose, this very defective arrangement for the sick; and it is not the less so for the remark made by the governor, Robert Alderson, Esq. in the report of last week.* In answer to which we refer him to our various preceding reports, and particularly to the report of the medical committee in the year 1805, in which the means of remedying this

* The remark of the governor alluded to, in his report of the 29th of October, 1808, is as follows:—"I read over the report of Messrs. Rigby and Squire. Might it not be recommended to those gentlemen to propose a specific remedy for the evil they complain of, and point out?"

"ROBT. ALDERSON."

evil are clearly and fully pointed out. We inform him also, that proposals for this purpose have repeatedly been laid before the Court, but uniformly rejected; and we further remind him, that since he has been governor, and at a Court when he himself was in the chair, we believe in June, or July last, the subject was discussed, and with a seeming prospect of a favourable result, when the question was again gotten rid of, by some gentlemen abruptly quitting the Court, without leave, and others exclaiming, there is no Court. We will, however, comply with the governor's request, with regard to one description of paupers occasionally adverted to on these occasions—the infirm old men and women in No. 12 and No. 3, and the sick room. In No. 12, the men's room, there are five double beds, and eight single ones or cribs; and there were three bed-ridden men, making, with four in the sick room, seven under these circumstances. In No. 3, the women's room, there are thirty beds, and nineteen women were bed-ridden.—We are clearly of opinion, that these people should be removed to the hospital out of St. Augustine's gate, called the infirmary, which is an appendage to the workhouse, and was originally appropriated to the reception of the sick and infirm, *from the workhouse*; this being also the true legitimate purpose, to which, according to the Act of Parliament, it ought to be applied; but if the Court shall think it right still to admit into this hospital, persons in good health and not coming from the workhouse, we recommend that two rooms be built there, for the reception of each sex of this class of paupers, who now occupy too much room

in the workhouse, and contribute more to deteriorate the air in it, than any other persons, as has been remarked by other visitors as well as ourselves.

On enquiry we find there has been only one patient with the small-pox for a long while past, and this a child: Considering the prevalence and fatality of the disease, at this time, within the city, and the number of children in the house, we think this circumstance highly creditable to the economy of the house, and the judicious attention of the surgeons to vaccination.

EDWARD RIGBY.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

On going into the workhouse, this day, Nov. 6th, 1808, I am concerned to find several parts of the house far from clean; the stairs, passages, &c. have not been washed; the woman, whose office it is to do this, being otherwise employed. There should be no relaxation whatever in the daily system of cleanliness.

EDWARD RIGBY.

REPORT VIII.—*November 20, 1808.*

Having adverted to the infirmary in our last report, of Nov. 4th, we this day visited it. The purpose to which this place is, at present, applied, as an asylum for aged persons, who are admitted for their lives, appears to be a deviation from that originally intended, which, unquestionably, was an hospital appendage to the workhouse, for the reception of sick and infirm paupers, including a judicious arrangement for infectious diseases, cases of casual small-pox, and confirmed lues; for all which purposes it is amply large, well contrived, and advantageously situated. There are four good wards in it

for sick patients of both sexes, but one only is, at present, used for that purpose; and in this both sexes are admitted, and are separated in the night only by a thin partition.

This room contains twelve beds, and was reported in the books, and provided for, as full, though there were but four persons in it, and one only in bed. In one of the rooms, formerly the small-pox room, were five men, who permanently occupy it; the other room near it was empty; and in the two venereal rooms, no longer used as such, were eight aged women. There are six other smaller rooms, some of which are in the roof, badly lighted and ventilated, in one of which were eleven old women. The whole number in the house was a hundred and three, and this number is always kept up; but we did not find one person so infirm as to be bed-ridden, though at our last visit to the workhouse, there were in it thirty persons of this unfortunate description.

This misapplication of the infirmary has, probably, gradually taken place, in a series of years. The rooms for venereal patients were used as such within the memory of one of us; and the small-pox room ceased to be considered as such only in the year 1805. The house, though capable of improvement, appears well calculated to receive from sixty to eighty persons; and we apprehend the workhouse not likely to have a greater number of the description first alluded to, to send thither.—It seems, indeed, a manifest absurdity, that in an establishment supported by the poor rate, means should be used to keep it constantly filled, and that with persons, few of whom, from infirmity or disease, are proper

objects of an hospital, and many of whom would not go into a workhouse. Were it an endowed hospital, and a specific sum, arising from a permanent source, directed to be annually applied in the support of a given number of aged persons, such an arrangement would probably be proper; but under the present circumstances, it cannot but be unjust both to the infirm and sick poor in the workhouse, and to the payers of the poor rate. The committees of the workhouse might, with equal propriety, announce vacancies in the workhouse, when its inhabitants did not amount to the number which its walls could contain; and in their turn, the gentlemen recommend persons for admission, as we understand is the case at the infirmary.

We trust this Court will take measures to restore this establishment to its original and obviously more useful purpose; by which many unfortunate persons now languishing in the workhouse, would be materially relieved; the principal, and almost only source of impurity and foul air, in the workhouse, would be removed, and by effecting, to a certain degree, a reduction of the rates, an act of justice would be rendered to the city: And we further add, were this gradually to take place, by sending persons from the workhouse only when vacancies occur at the infirmary, no hardship would be sustained by those who, at present, reside there.

EDWARD RIGBY.

EDWARD SQUIRE.

Since the above visit was made, the Court ordered
 “ that, in future, only one member of the corpora-
 “ tion of guardians should be summoned, for each

“ week, to visit the workhouse ;” in consequence of which, in my subsequent visits, I was no longer assisted by my late respectable coadjutor.

REPORT IX.—*October 30, 1810.*

Visited at half-past twelve. The general state of the house, as far as belongs to cleanliness, is even improved since my last visit ; and I am particularly glad to find that the repeated suggestions respecting No. 3, the room for infirm old women, have, at last, been attended to. The number of beds in this room is reduced by the removal of the middle row ; and the air is more pure than I ever before found it. Another excellent room, No. 14, has been appropriated to a similar purpose ; this was also clean, airy, and not too crowded with beds : I observed also, a much improved approach to it. No. 7, the women’s day room, is immediately under this room, and of the same dimensions, but the approach to it is through the men’s day room, No. 6. The internal communication between these rooms should be done away, and the entrance to No. 7 made from without, either on the south or the west side.

It is to be wished that the system of improvement had been more extended. I wonder, indeed, as well as lament, that no alteration has yet taken place in the very faulty arrangements for the sick, so often before noticed. To a defect in this important department is it owing, that a dangerous and infectious disease is now spreading throughout the house : many children are ill with measles, some seemingly in a dangerous state, and one is dead. There being no insulated sick room to remove such patients to, on the first appearance of the disease, the only means

by which its progress can be arrested, all the children, amounting to a hundred and ten, are exposed to the infection. In every room where there were children, I found the disease; some recovering and others falling sick. There appears to be no report of this disease in the surgeon's book till October 26, before which time many children seem to have had it, and one death from it to have taken place on the 21st. I suspect, as on a former occasion, that the surgeon was not duly informed of the disease at its first appearance.

To the same want of proper regulation must be attributed the finding a young man in bed for the cure of lues, in the same room where there were several old men. On questioning the nurse, she said that this is the man's foul ward; but there being only one venereal patient in it, the other beds were filled with infirm and sick old men. Such patients should not be thus intermixed; indeed, those under cure for confirmed lues, of both sexes, should, as formerly, be sent to the infirmary, where their loathsome disease would annoy none but themselves.

I am sorry to observe that a considerable sum of money seems to have been injudiciously expended on a room, intended for a school. The ground floor being sunk several feet below the level of the yard, and the means of warming and drying it being very defective; it appears to be abandoned for this purpose, being obviously too damp. By raising the floor, it might, however, be applied to some other useful purpose.

EDWARD RIGBY.

This place has since been improved, and a school for the poor children of the workhouse established, on the Lancaster plan. It is under the superintendance of some well-disposed ladies: There are about fifty scholars; and it promises to be a very useful and creditable appendage to the workhouse.

REPORT X.—*October 23, 1811.*

In visiting the house this day, I went through the several rooms, beginning at No. 1. I have usually done this, but have before remarked, that some numbers on the door are obliterated, and that some rooms are not numbered. It would facilitate the visitor's task, were the rooms not only all legibly numbered, but also severally named, perhaps in the following way:—

- No. 1—Family Room.
- No. 2—Family Room.
- No. 3—Old Infirm Women's Room.
- No. 4—Men's Bed Room.
- No. 5—Boys' Bed Room.
- No. 6—Men's Day Room.
- No. 7—Women's Day Room.
- No. 8—Old Women's Lodging Room.
- No. 9—Young Women's Lodging Room.
- No. 10—Single Women with Children's Room.
- No. 11—Friendless Children's Room.
- No. 12—Old Women's Lodging Room.
- No. 13—Infirm Old Men's Lodging Room.
- No. 14—Infirm Old Men's Lodging Room.
- No. 15—Infirm Old Women's Room.
- No. 16—Men's Sick Room.
- No. 17—Lying-in Room.
- No. 18—Itch Room.

No. 19—Venereal or Foul Room.

No. 20—Small-Pox Room.

No. 21—Women's Sick Room.

No. 22—Men's Bedlam.

No. 23—Women's Bedlam.

Or it might be so arranged, that the numbers corresponded more with the local situation of the rooms.

In going through every room, I observed a general attention to cleanliness and ventilation; and was pleased to find, in the family room, No. 2, where there are many children, that none were sick, and that all of them, including infants at the breast, had been vaccinated. The whole house was, indeed, singularly healthy. Cleanliness, ventilation, and early medical attention, contribute to this favourable state of the house; but the remark, in my last report, respecting insulated sick rooms, nevertheless, still applies. Diseases of a dangerous and infectious nature, as scarlatina, measles, and even typhus, will, under the best system of cleanliness, occasionally find admission into all places where considerable numbers live together, as in large schools, barracks, prisons, and workhouses; and when admitted, nothing can prevent their spreading, but an immediate separation of the infected from those who are free from disease.—The last attack of the measles in the house, noticed in the report of October 30, 1810, is an unfortunate instance of the want of this arrangement: The disease went through the house; some children died under it, & others, it would seem, in consequence of it. There is reason, moreover, to believe, that it communicated with the neighbouring population, for it soon appeared in St. Andrew's

parish, where several died of it; and ultimately extending through the whole city, its fatality was unusually great. Admitting this even to have been only probable, there cannot be a more urgent reason for using every possible means to arrest a contagious disease at its first appearance; and that this is practicable by the simple means so often alluded to, has been happily experienced in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Chester.

EDWARD RIGBY.

A reference to the bills of mortality has confirmed my supposition of the fatality of the measles in this year; for though the deaths from this disease were not at that time recorded, as those from the small-pox had been, yet the increase of a hundred deaths in this year, cannot be accounted for, from any other cause, it being the only epidemic which prevailed.*

Notwithstanding my want of success in several former attempts, and particularly in the years 1805 and 1806, when the disease prevailed so much, to induce the guardians to adopt some efficient means of securing the poor from the ravages of the small-pox, I still thought it right to persevere; and the bills of mortality having furnished me with the most unequivocal, decisive, and melancholy proofs of the necessity there was for it; such proofs, indeed, as I conceived few persons of sound sense, and capable of moral reflection, could resist, I made another at-

* A new arrangement has since been made in the Norwich bills of mortality; and I trust the future lists of births and burials will not only be more correct and comprehensive, but the cause of each death will be carefully recorded.

tempt, in the following address to the Court, which was delivered on the 6th of January, 1812:—

“ MR. GOVERNOR,

I beg leave, once more, to call the attention of this Court to the subject of small-pox, conceiving it, as I have ever done, to be of the utmost importance, as affecting the comfort, health, and the lives of the poor.

No circumstance, indeed, connected with my profession, has been a greater source of anxiety to me, through a long course of medical practice, than the dreadful calamities attendant on this disease; I have, however, the satisfaction of reflecting, (and I hope I may be allowed to say it is a great satisfaction) that from the earliest period of my practice, and from the time when my opinions or example were at all likely to have any influence, I have unremittingly exerted what little talent I possess to lessen its destructive malignancy. When variolous inoculation was the only means known and practised to produce this beneficial effect, I was ever ready not only to inoculate the poor gratuitously, but I omitted no opportunity, either by writing or by conversation, to promote its general adoption. I premise this, because I wish it to be understood that I now act on the same principle; and that in addressing the Court on this occasion, I am influenced by no other motive whatever: I am, moreover, induced to commit my sentiments to paper, that I may the less risk the being misunderstood now, or being misrepresented hereafter.

The necessity for small-pox inoculation has, within a few years, being superseded by Providence

having placed in our hands means of security against the disease equally efficacious, and in the application much less exceptionable, by the well-known and much adopted practice of vaccination; and which I am confident will, in time, overcome all opposition to it, arising from ignorance, prejudice, or, if there be such, the more to be reprobated motive of self interest; and when this period shall have arrived, all anxiety respecting this hitherto fatal disease will necessarily cease. This happy period, I have no hesitation in repeating, will come, but it is not yet arrived, and until it does, all large and populous places, unless much precaution be taken, will be liable to the occasional ravages of the small-pox; for I shall shew that since the new inoculation has been introduced, no inconsiderable sacrifice of human life, from this disease, has taken place among the poor of this city, and that I conceive it, therefore, to be our bounden duty, as guardians of the poor, to take such measures (and I am confident they are within our reach) as may prevent the recurrence of such a calamity.

That the subject, however, as connected with this Court, may be better understood, and more especially as many gentlemen are now members of it, who could not have been present on the several occasions, when it has been before discussed, it will be necessary to give a little detail, of what has already occurred, concerning it; in doing which I am aware that I shall be unavoidably guilty of egotism, and for which I certainly wish to apologise.

In the years 1805 and 1806, in part of which time I had the honor of being mayor, the small-pox was

very prevalent and very fatal : Measures were taken by myself and many respectable inhabitants to put a stop to its progress, and considerable exertions, with this view, were made by my medical brethren to introduce vaccination among the poor. In the course of the mayoralty year, it occurred to me, that there had formerly been very convenient rooms at the infirmary for the reception of casual small-pox patients; and that they were so situated as to prevent any communication of infection, except by the grossest carelessness or mismanagement; and having myself known many patients to have been sent thither, I went to the infirmary and found the rooms unoccupied. I was also informed that no such patients had been lately admitted; but on referring to the court books, I found the following judicious and humane orders on the subject. The first is dated April 6th, 1773, and is as follows:—

“ This Court, at the request of the trustees of the
 “ Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, doth give permis-
 “ sion for the said trustees to send, from the said
 “ hospital, such patients as may there casually fall
 “ down with the small-pox, to be nursed at the infir-
 “ mary, on such terms and conditions as other per-
 “ sons under that disease are usually admitted.”

And at a Court held May 15th, 1781, “ ordered by
 “ this Court, that in case any soldier is taken ill with
 “ the small-pox, quartered in this city, that he be
 “ taken into the infirmary, there to be nursed and
 “ provided for, upon the officer engaging, on such
 “ casualty, to pay to this corporation the sum of
 “ one pound five shillings, being attended, supplied
 “ with medicines, and buried at the expence of such

“ officer ; and it is further ordered, that the keeper
 “ of the infirmary do receive all such soldiers by an
 “ order from any one of the guardians of this cor-
 “ poration.” These being so direct to the purpose,
 I urged the propriety of acting upon them, should a
 case occur within their meaning and intention ; and,
 as was likely when the disease prevailed so much,
 such a case did occur ; for Major Dickins, who at
 that time superintended the recruiting service in
 this city, applied to me to provide a situation for a
 young recruit who had just sickened with the small-
 pox. I told him frankly, that the court of guardians
 had judiciously provided such a place at the infir-
 mary, and that a general order existed to admit a
 soldier, on his officer’s paying a certain sum, and
 answering for the expences of his funeral, should he
 die. He consented to these terms, and requested
 that the soldier might be immediately sent thither ;
 but as such a case had not lately occurred, I com-
 municated the circumstance to a gentleman higher
 in rank in the corporation of guardians than myself,
 and shewing him the order in the book, I suggested
 the propriety of his signing the order for the sol-
 dier’s admission, but this he objected to, and as any
 guardian was authorised to do it, I had no hesitation
 in signing the order myself, and he was immediately
 sent to the infirmary in a coach, but was refused ad-
 mittance. I sent him a second time with another
 note to the keeper of the infirmary, saying, I sent
 him in conformity to a standing order in the Court
 books, but he was again sent back, and after remain-
 ing in the coach near the hall in the market, and on
 a market day, more than an hour, I recollected that

the sick room in bridewell was empty and clean, and I sent him thither, where he had the good fortune to pass safely through the disease.

I was precluded from any future attempts to send patients to the infirmary, by a resolution of this Court, which passed soon after, namely, on June 3d, 1806, by which the orders already read were rescinded, and which was as follows:—

“ *Ordered*—That the resolution of the Court of “ the 6th of April, 1773, authorising the trustees of “ the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital to send patients “ with the small-pox, to the infirmary, to be nursed “ there; and the resolution of the Court of the 7th “ of May, 1781, empowering any guardian to send “ soldiers with the same disease to that place, be and “ they are hereby rescinded.” The original order for the admission of casual small-pox patients into the infirmary, and which I believe has existed ever since the passing of the act of the 10th of Anne, and which is referred to in the order of the Court of the 6th of April, 1773, was not indeed noticed in the resolution which rescinded the orders of 1773 and of 1781; but it was virtually rescinded by the rooms in question, at the infirmary, being immediately, as they have ever since been, occupied by eight old men and five old women.

I endeavoured to convince the Court of the impolicy and even inhumanity of shutting these rooms against the admission of casual small-pox patients, as it might obviously be the cause of much future evil, and even be the negative means of spreading the disease in the city, stating, that should the city be once more free from the small-pox, some stranger

might come with the disease, and, unless he could be insulated in some such place, he might kindle it afresh among the inhabitants.

I am sorry to say that my prediction has been fulfilled to a most melancholy and fatal degree. The small-pox did disappear in the autumn of 1806; it had seized on all the victims within its reach, and like a fire, ceased to burn, only for want of additional fuel; nor did it again visit the city till August, 1807, when it was introduced in the following way:

On the Monday of the assize week in that year, Mr. Robinson, one of your surgeons, called upon me, in the morning, to say he had been to visit a poor woman at the Waggon and Horses, in St. Giles's-street, who had just been brought thither from the London waggon, and that she was in the eruptive stage of the small-pox, and he was very anxious that I should advise him how she could be disposed of. I told him I feared I had now no power, either as a magistrate or as a guardian, to direct in such a case, as a late resolution of the Court had rescinded the orders, under which, heretofore, patients under such circumstances had been sent to the infirmary; but I wished him to apply to Mr. Simpson, the clerk of the court of guardians, to Mr. Lubbock, the mayor's justice clerk, and to the chief magistrate himself; all which Mr. Robinson took the trouble of doing, but to no purpose—there was no place to which she could be sent, and she was under the necessity of going through this infectious disease, at a public house, in a public street, and at a public time, when there was a more than usual number of strangers in the city. The conse-

quences were obvious—a person in the public-house caught the disease, from whom it was communicated to another in the neighbourhood; and thence it gradually spread to the several parts of the city, and continued its ravages among the poor to the end of the year 1809; during which time no less a number of deaths, from this dreadful disease, than TWO HUNDRED AND THREE were recorded in the weekly bills of mortality. The greatest fatality was in 1808, in some weeks ten, thirteen, and even fifteen died; and from June, 1808, to June, 1809, the number of deaths was 171.

I am satisfied that these accounts are correct; and I feel no small gratification in reflecting, that a record so important to humanity would not have existed had I not, when mayor, directed the keeper of the bills of mortality to notice every death from the small-pox. In a statistical as well as moral view, these facts are highly interesting. I think it likely, as there are few adults in populous places who have not had the small-pox, that this long list of deaths consisted almost entirely of children; and if the common average of deaths from small-pox, as derived from tables kept for a series of years in London, Paris, Vienna, and other large cities in Europe, be correct, and which is one in six, it is evident that within this period, more than twelve hundred individuals must have had the disease; and the probability of these being children is increased by this number so strikingly corresponding with the number of births in three years, in that class of society liable to the disease, reckoning from the time when the small-pox disappeared at the end of 1806, to the

end of 1809, when it again ceased. The annual births in Norwich, for the last four years, are about nine hundred, somewhat less than half of this number, or four hundred probably belong to the lowest or unvaccinating class, which, in three years, will produce, by births, about the number of individuals who had the disease at this period, and which, as I before observed, must have been somewhat more than twelve hundred.*

The *moral* reflections which necessarily arise from this melancholy detail, need not now be insisted upon. I will, however, just observe, that had this patient been fortunately sent to the infirmary, at the time Mr. Robinson called upon me, and which was, I believe, before the disease had reached that stage which renders it infectious, she would not have been in a situation to have communicated it, and the city, in that instance at least, would have been spared the dreadful visitation, to which so many human lives were sacrificed; and had the former wise regulations of this Court remained in force, it is sufficiently clear that she would have been sent thither.

I have no right to impugn an act of a general Court, nor ought I to suspect the motives of those gentlemen who carried the rescission of these orders by so large a majority as twenty-one to three; the

* Admitting this conjecture to be well founded, as more than two years have elapsed since the small-pox was in Norwich, it follows, that at this time there are more than eight hundred children liable to catch the disease, should it again find its way into the city. If also it be true, that this disease is fatal to a sixth of the individuals infected, it is equally clear, that unless some efficient means are adopted to secure the lower classes from the infection, an average annual loss to our population of more than sixty persons will be sustained.

minority consisting of Mr. Browne, Mr. Unthank, and myself; but I always considered it a precipitate and unfortunate measure: And to prevent the recurrence of a calamity similar to that before recited, I trust this Court will now, by an unanimous resolution, restore all these orders to their former activity; and I the more confidently expect this result, because I shall shew, from the small-pox not being at this time in Norwich, that such a measure is more than ever calculated to secure the town from the disease.

Before vaccination was discovered, the natural small-pox was almost constantly kept up in all places of considerable population, among the poorer classes, by the prevalence of inoculation among the richer classes, and which, unless variolous inoculation had been universal, rendered the prevention of natural small-pox very difficult, if not impracticable: But this inoculation having happily ceased within the city, (for I trust there is not a medical man now in it, who will countenance the practice), this internal source of infection is done away, and it is not now likely that the disease should make its appearance, unless introduced by a stranger, as in the year 1807, and the obvious way of preventing such a stranger infecting the city, is to have the means of insulating him in such place as the infirmary.

Another reason for this measure is, that the number of individuals now liable, at given periods, to take the disease, is greater than formerly; and that consequently its introduction is, for the time, more extensively destructive than heretofore. This, obviously, arises from the disease not being constantly

kept up, as before remarked, by inoculation, there being now such intervals of its absence, as admit a considerable accumulation of numbers among the poor liable to be infected, by the annual births, as before adverted to.

I am further induced to hope this measure will be adopted, because we have already effectually succeeded in securing all the children in the workhouse from the disease. I have had much satisfaction in noticing this circumstance in several of my reports in the visitors' book; and in my last visit, it was a peculiar pleasure to me to find that all the children in the house, not excepting infants at the breast, had been vaccinated; and surely it cannot be less our duty to extend the means of security to the poor not in the workhouse, but who by the law of the land, as well as by the law of humanity, are equally under our guardianship.

I will offer one other reason only, but this with me is decisive: We have no legal right to appropriate these rooms, nor any rooms in the infirmary, to other purposes than the admission of persons labouring under disease. It has ever been my opinion, that the infirmary is an hospital for the sick, and not an asylum for old people. The act of the 10th of Anne directs, that we shall have a workhouse or workhouses, and an hospital or hospitals; and the infirmary is as much the hospital, as the workhouse is the workhouse, and this opinion has been recognised by this Court.

On the 2d of Feb. 1762, the Court appointed a committee to view the buildings at the infirmary, that they might be rendered fit for the reception of

patients under the small-pox, or other distempers, which the Court was of opinion was the properest use to apply it to, rather than receiving aged persons, who might be provided for in the workhouses. And on the 2d of March, 1762, the committee made a report, and agreeing with the Court respecting the appropriation of the infirmary, added, “that the
 “using the infirmary as an hospital will be a saving
 “to this corporation, *and will tend to prevent the ex-*
 “*cessive spread of the small-pox in the city.*”

I trust I have said enough to prove the necessity of adopting measures to secure the poor, in future, from the small-pox; and as for this purpose it appears indispensably requisite to have the means of insulating any casual small-pox patient, and as much as possible to promote vaccination among the poor; after repeating that the objects we are called upon to protect from this loathsome and fatal disease, are the most pitiable beings in human society, the helpless children of poverty, I shall move,

First—That the several orders in the Court books, respecting the admission of small-pox patients into the infirmary, be restored and acted upon as formerly; and that these orders comprehend not only servants, soldiers, and patients from the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, but any casual patient having the disease; and that every guardian be authorised to send such to the infirmary; and moreover, that such patients may be admitted with as little delay as possible, it be required that all persons who may know of a case of small-pox, give immediate information of it to some guardian, and

that the overseers and constables within the city be particularly attentive to such a circumstance in their respective neighbourhoods.

Second—That this Court being convinced, that it is highly needful to promote vaccination among the poor, directs that the city surgeons, in visiting the out-poor, shall omit no opportunity of recommending and practising it; and earnestly requests that the committees, when applied to for relief by the out-poor, shall enquire not only into the numbers and state of their families, but particularly enquire whether they have any children who have not been vaccinated, and in such cases shall earnestly recommend its being immediately done; and as an encouragement to their consenting to it, that a reward of half-a-crown be paid for every individual who shall be vaccinated by the city surgeons, at the Norwich Dispensary, or in any other way, provided they produce, to the committees, a satisfactory proof of the fact.

These motions were not carried, but it was referred to a committee to consider further on the subject. The committee reported, at the subsequent court, on the 5th of February, that they had visited the infirmary, and found a building, which, at a moderate expence, might be converted into two rooms, for the reception of small-pox patients, and this they recommended to be done immediately; but on a motion being made for that purpose, a division took place, and it was negatived by a majority of more than two to one—of fifteen to seven.—Of course the whole fell to the ground.”

I scarcely feel myself at liberty to express the reflections which obviously arise in my mind from a grave consideration of the foregoing details.

If, however, I have suffered the mortification of repeated disappointment in my well-meant efforts, aggravated, as this has been, by my conviction of the calamity which might have been averted, had my suggestions been adopted, I have not been without some satisfaction—much good has been lately effected; the economy of the workhouse has been improved; a system of cleanliness and regularity has succeeded a system of filth and disorder; and, (which has materially contributed to this salutary change, by rendering it more permanently practicable), a reduction of the numbers in the workhouse has taken place, by an extension of the less exceptionable mode of out-door relief; the new workhouse has not been built—that giant evil, which threatened to have been so extensive and so enduring in its baneful influence, has been averted; the yoke, the pot-hooks, the log, and the chain, are no longer used as instruments of punishment; and the committees have ceased to exercise a power of punishment unwarranted by law; a moral attention has been excited towards the poor children in the house, and, as before observed, they are now systematically taught to read and write;* and notwithstanding the inexplicable obduracy of the guardians on this sub-

* This subject was first suggested to the guardians in the report of February 17, 1806; indeed, it may be said to have originated with an elderly woman, who had the care of some friendless children, and who voluntarily undertook the task of teaching them to read. See Report I. page 67.

ject, as affecting the poor at large, the poor in the workhouse have been effectually protected from the small-pox, by a regular system of vaccination.

It is worthy of remark, that these beneficial changes seem to have been, in a great measure, effected, in consequence of the public attention having been directed towards the affairs of the workhouse. The visit of Mr. Neild, and the account he published of the wretched state in which he found the old workhouse, may, fairly, be considered as having had a most opportune influence in preventing the present one being in the same state of gross and culpable mismanagement, and in doing away a system of punishment, equally reprehensible and illegal.* And the lamentable account of the small-pox, in the same workhouse, exhibited by Mr. Robinson, and in several ways brought before the public, may be considered as equally producing the new arrangements in the present workhouse, which have prevented a recurrence of the same calamity. It is, at least, satisfactory to suppose, that public opinion has had such a favourable influence; and I am disposed to indulge the sentiment, because it leads me to hope, and to hope

* Sir Samuel Romilly has, lately, in the House of Commons, born testimony to the important services rendered by Mr. Neild, in detecting and publicly exposing abuses.

“ In support of the utility of prisons being subjected to public inspection, he referred to a recent work of Mr. Neild’s, which disclosed practices, on the part of gaolers and others, which could not take place if the public eye were upon them; for he believed, in every case, that there were no inspectors or guardians so good as the public themselves.”

Debate on the Penitentiary House Bill.

with confidence, that what remains to be done, and certainly much remains to satisfy the claims of justice and the calls of humanity, will, in time, be effected by the same means.

I have, therefore, only to trust, that what I have done and written may tend, still further, to awaken the attention of the public to this important subject; and to express my sincere wish, that public opinion thus excited, and which, when unequivocally declared, I know, is irresistible, may effect what the repeated efforts of an individual have failed to accomplish.

TO BE ADDED AND CORRECTED.

Page 3, line 27, for *an other* read *another*.

Page 9, line 9; page 13, lines 7, 25, and 26, for *maintainance*
read *maintenance*.

PAGE 11, AT THE BOTTOM, ADD—

The inaccuracy of the above returns of families and individuals, is rendered still more probable by the return of numbers lately relieved by the Spitalfield's Soup Society, consisting of 1504 families, and 7186 individuals, which is not much less than five to each family.

Morning Chronicle, May 7th, 1812.

APPENDIX.

I Have much satisfaction in annexing the following account of the successful issue of my last application to the Court of Guardians, on the subject of small-pox,* and in recording the extensive benefit which has already resulted to the city from the adoption of the simple and obvious measures suggested by me; and which, whether considered with regard to the quantum of human life, in the first instance, unquestionably saved by it, or as having established a practical fact, of no small importance, as it bears relation both to the healing art and to the useful science of political economy; or, further, as it may excite others to have recourse to similar means of security against a loathsome and destructive disease, cannot be uninteresting to humanity.

Having learned in July last (1812), that the small-pox had, in the preceding Whitsun week, been introduced into Acle, a small town, about eleven miles from Norwich, being brought thither by a young man from London, who had been incautiously discharged from the Small-pox Hospital, whilst he car-

* This was the sixth time I had endeavoured to direct the attention of the Court to this important subject; and the result should encourage every one who advocates the cause of humanity to persevere, even against the most discouraging opposition.

ried about him, on his person and his cloaths, the means of infection; and that it had found its way to the several villages of Blofield, Strumpshaw, Plumpstead, &c. more nearly in the vicinity of Norwich; I attended the monthly meeting of the Guardians on Tuesday, August 4, 1812, for the purpose of making this fact known to them, and of representing the danger of receiving the infection, to which the poorer inhabitants of the city would, probably, be exposed. The number of gentlemen present was not, however, sufficient to constitute a Court, as directed by the Act of Parliament, but I still mentioned the circumstance, urged the necessity of taking some prompt measures to prevent the introduction of the disease, and having just received the Annual Report of the National Vaccine Establishment, I laid it before them, as containing the most unquestionable evidence of the efficacy of vaccine inoculation. Some objections were made to taking any steps at that time, on the ground, that not being a full Court, we were incompetent to any public act. The majority, nevertheless, concurred in the propriety of directing the attention of the public to the subject, and the following paper was ordered to be circulated:—

“ *SMALL-POX.*

“ The Corporation of Guardians of the Poor, in this
 “ City, having received information, that the small-
 “ pox prevails much in the neighbourhood of Nor-
 “ wich, and that there is every reason to fear that it
 “ may soon find its way into the city, and great num-
 “ bers of the children of the poorer inhabitants being
 “ liable to take the infection, the Court earnestly re-

“commends that all such children should be imme-
 “diately vaccinated, and for this purpose the city
 “surgeons have received directions to vaccinate all
 “who may apply to them, without any expence.
 “And to induce the parents of such children to com-
 “ply with this recommendation, the Court thinks it
 “right to state, that when the small-pox last visited
 “the city, about three years ago, more than two
 “hundred individuals were sacrificed to it; which
 “calamity might have been averted, had a similar
 “measure to that now recommended taken place at
 “that time.

“*Norwich, August 4, 1812.*”

This made a considerable impression on the inha-
 bitants, and the early efforts of two gentlemen, who
 merit, on this occasion, the most respectful notice,
 contributed much to forward its important object.
 Mr. Deacon, one of the city surgeons, on seeing the
 paper, thought it right immediately to go round his
 district, with the hope of inducing the poor families
 to consent to vaccination, and he had soon the satis-
 faction of reporting to me more than forty indivi-
 duals who were ready to undergo it; and the Rev.
 Mr. Talbot, Minister of St. Mary's, impressed with
 a similar sentiment, thought it also right to visit the
 poor in his parish; in doing which he found a case
 of small-pox, a child, who had been at Blofield and
 caught it there. He lost no time in reporting this
 circumstance to me, and on visiting the child, and
 being convinced of the fact, I suggested, by letter,
 to Robert Alderson, Esq. the Governor of the Corpo-
 ration, the propriety of calling a special Court of the
 Guardians, for the purpose of further discussing the

subject, and adopting such means of securing the city from the disease, as the urgency of the circumstances seemed to demand.

The Court met on the 13th of August, 1812, and was well attended. I stated the fact of the small-pox being in the city—that I was convinced there were more than a thousand poor children in it liable to take the infection—that vaccination was the most obvious, practicable, and efficacious means of securing them—that I had reason to believe the prejudices of the poor against it had much subsided;* which belief, derived, in some degree, from my own intercourse with them, had been much strengthened by Mr. Deacon's recent report; and wishing this favorable disposition of the poor to be taken advantage of, I suggested the policy of increasing the motive to their consent to vaccination, by a small pecuniary gratification; and as a further means of preventing the more immediate communication of the disease from those who might then labor under it, I recommended that the regulations suggested at Chester, many years ago, by Dr. Haygarth, might be adopted.

Some objections, founded chiefly on the imputed insecurity of vaccination, were, not unfairly, ad-

* I have ever been convinced, when time and repeated experiment had unequivocally established the efficacy of vaccination, and the poorer classes had fairly witnessed the security it gives against the small-pox, that their prejudices respecting it would cease, and they would as readily avail themselves of this "kind gift of Providence" as other classes have done, and who have adopted it earlier only because they were sooner within the reach of that information and those facts, which were equally necessary to their conviction.

duced ; but after a candid discussion, the unanimous resolution of the Court was made known by the immediate publication of the following paper :—

“ *City of Norwich and County of the same.*

“ AT a Special Court of the Governor, Deputy Go-
 “ verner, Assistants, and Guardians of the Poor,
 “ in the said City and County of Norwich and
 “ Liberties of the same, held at the new Hall, in
 “ the said City, the thirteenth day of August, in
 “ the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hun-
 “ dred and twelve, to take into consideration the
 “ best means of preventing the spread of the
 “ small-pox, which has made its appearance in this
 “ City,

“ *RESOLVED*—That the following regulations to
 “ prevent the spread of the small-pox be printed
 “ and circulated, together with the last report of
 “ the National Vaccine Establishment, printed by
 “ order of the House of Commons ; and that a room
 “ in the workhouse should be set apart for the recep-
 “ tion of any person who may be infected with the
 “ small-pox, and who may be consenting to be re-
 “ moved thither.

“ *REGULATIONS.*

“ *First.*—Suffer no person who has not had the
 “ small-pox or cow-pox to come into the infectious
 “ house. No visitor, who has any communication
 “ with persons liable to the distemper, should
 “ touch or sit down on any thing infectious.

“ *Second.*—No patient, after the pox have ap-
 “ peared, must be suffered to go into the street or
 “ other frequented place.

“ *Third.*—The utmost attention to cleanliness is
 “ absolutely necessary. During and after the dis-
 “ temper, no person’s cloaths, food, furniture,
 “ dog, cat, money, medicines, or any other thing
 “ that is known or suspected to be daubed with
 “ matter, spittle, or other infectious discharges of
 “ the patient, should go out of the house till they
 “ be washed, and till they have been sufficiently
 “ exposed to the fresh air. No foul linen, or any
 “ thing else that can retain the poison, should be
 “ folded up and put into drawers, boxes, or be
 “ otherwise shut up from the air, but immediately
 “ thrown into water and kept there till washed.
 “ No attendants should touch what is going into
 “ another family till their hands are washed.—
 “ When a patient dies of the small-pox, particular
 “ care should be taken that nothing infectious be
 “ taken out of the house so as to do mischief.

“ *Fourth.*—The patient must not be allowed to
 “ approach any person liable to the distemper till
 “ every scab is dropt off; till all the cloaths, fur-
 “ niture, food, and all other things touched by the
 “ patient during the distemper, till the floor of
 “ the sick chamber, and till his hair, face, and
 “ hands have been carefully washed. After every
 “ thing has been made perfectly clean, the doors,
 “ windows, drawers, boxes, and all other places
 “ that can retain infectious air, should be kept
 “ open till it be cleared out of the house.

“ *RESOLVED*—That a reward of half-a-crown be
 “ given to every poor person resident within the city
 “ of Norwich, who shall be vaccinated by the city
 “ surgeons, at the Norwich Dispensary, or in any

“ other way, provided they produce to the commit-
 “ tees a satisfactory proof of the fact.

“ *RESOLVED*—That the thanks of this Court be
 “ given to Edward Rigby, Esquire, for his unremit-
 “ ting attention to the important subject of the small-
 “ pox—for the measures now proposed by him, and
 “ adopted by this Court, in consequence of the disease
 “ being at this time in Norwich; and particularly for
 “ the able manner in which he has advocated the
 “ practice of vaccination, and so satisfactorily ob-
 “ viated the popular objections to it.

“ By the Court,

“ SIMPSON.”

·The report of the National Vaccine Establishment being in so many hands, and being moreover a parliamentary record, I did not think it necessary to reprint it.

The vaccination began to take place immediately, and the readiness with which the poor submitted to it is proved by the following returns, which appeared in the Norwich papers:—

VACCINATED,

From August 10, 1812, to August 27, 1812:—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| By Mr. Keymer, city surgeon | 17 |
| Robinson, city surgeon | 69 |
| Deacon, city surgeon | 116 |
| Rigby | 77 |

279

From August 27 to September 3:—

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Keymer | 5 |
| Robinson | 57 |
| Deacon | 74 |
| Rigby | 39 |
| At the Dispensary, by Mr. Powell . | 52 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 227 |
| | <hr/> |

From September 3 to September 10:—

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Keymer | 5 |
| Robinson | 58 |
| Deacon | 94 |
| Rigby | 38 |
| * Cooper | 38 |
| Powell | 15 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 248 |
| | <hr/> |

From September 10 to September 17:—

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Keymer | 2 |
| Robinson | 62 |
| Deacon | 69 |
| Rigby | 30 |
| Cooper | 15 |
| Powell | 8 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 186 |
| | <hr/> |

* The Author of *Vaccination Vindicated*, a well written pamphlet of 64 pages, which has obtained much approbation from Dr. Jenner. He volunteered his services on this occasion, and vaccinated 119 children.

From September 17 to September 24 :—

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Keymer | 6 |
| Robinson | 29 |
| Deacon | 75 |
| Rigby | 17 |
| Cooper | 16 |
| Powell | 13 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 156 |
| | <hr/> |

From September 24 to October 1 :—

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Keymer | 7 |
| Robinson | 17 |
| Deacon | 23 |
| Rigby | 31 |
| Cooper | 21 |
| Powell | 6 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 105 |
| | <hr/> |

From October 1 to October 8 :—

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Keymer | 2 |
| Robinson | 11 |
| Deacon | 14 |
| Rigby | 9 |
| Cooper | 15 |
| Powell | 7 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 58 |
| | <hr/> |

From October 8 to October 15:—

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Deacon | 17 |
| Rigby | 5 |
| Cooper | 8 |
| Powell | 3 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 33 |
| | <hr/> |

From October 15 to October 22:—

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Keymer | 2 |
| Deacon | 6 |
| Rigby | 8 |
| Cooper | 6 |
| Powell | 2 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 24 |
| | <hr/> |

TOTAL NUMBER.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|
| By Mr. Keymer | 46 |
| Robinson | 303 |
| Deacon | 488 |
| Rigby | 254 |
| Cooper | 119 |
| Powell | 106 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total number vaccinated | 1316 |
| | <hr/> |

Of these, 914 have received the reward, the sum of 124£. 5s. having been paid by the Court to this day, October 26, 1812.—361 of these belonged to the country; for it was the liberal policy of the Court to make no distinction between aliens and those belonging to Norwich; it was, indeed, obviously requisite to vaccinate all, for the security of all.

Means having been taken to prevent communication with the child, who brought the disease from the country, no one caught it from this source; but in a few weeks it was discovered, that a fresh source of infection had been introduced by variolous inoculation. A stranger in the city, a temporary resident in St. Augustine's parish, having prejudices against cow-pox, applied to several surgeons to inoculate his child with small-pox: on their refusal, he obtained some ichor from the country, and himself inoculated the child, and from it six or seven other children were inoculated, in St. Mary's parish. These were so situated as to render it difficult to prevent the access of other children to them; nevertheless, there was not a single instance of the disease being thence communicated. Happily, from this time, there has not been the slightest alarm on the subject, and the disease may now be considered as extinguished;* and if the same measures be persevered in, we may

* Since writing the above, and when this sheet was going to press, (Nov. 5, 1812) I received information, that two other children, in St. Mary's, had taken the small-pox. On visiting them I found them recovered, but they had some vestiges on their skin, which certainly appeared to have been variolous pustules; and this is rendered more probable from their not having been vaccinated, and its being ascertained that they played with the children who had the small-pox from inoculation, and that the time of their taking the disease corresponds with the time when the variolated children were likely to communicate it. It is, however, satisfactory to find, that though many of the children lately vaccinated played also with the children who had been inoculated, not one of these caught the disease; so far it has been a test of the security of vaccination, and every such proof must increase the public confidence in it.

confidently calculate upon a permanent security from it.*

I most sincerely congratulate the city upon so extensive a vaccination having so speedily been effected, and on the children of our poorer fellow citizens having, thereby, been so effectually prevented from the infection of small-pox; for without this prompt and general effort, when, as the event has proved, there were at least thirteen hundred children liable to take the disease, can it be doubted that some would have received it; and that it would, subsequently, have found its way, as on former occasions, into the different parts of the city? The ravages made, on its introduction in 1807, *when two hundred and three died of it*, and probably more than a thousand others underwent the disease, most of whom must have had much temporary suffering from it, and many of whom must have derived permanent disease and injury from it, sufficiently prove this.—The wretched state of the poorer classes at that period, suffering under such a horrid malady, cannot, indeed, be too strongly contrasted with their more fortunate state on the present occasion, when, happily, so much of evil has been averted—so much of human existence has been preserved, for not a single life has been lost.

* A continuance of this salutary system is obviously requisite. There are, probably, some who have not yet taken advantage of it, and whose prejudices against it may not be immediately removed; but the door should be left open to their future admission. The weekly births, in such a populous city as Norwich, are, also, permanent sources of increasing numbers, who will require the protecting influence of vaccination.

The readiness with which the poor of so large a city have consented to a measure, hitherto so much opposed by their prejudices, reflects credit upon them, and I can bear testimony to the satisfaction and thankfulness expressed generally by the parents of the children which were brought to me. The reward of the half-crown had, doubtlessly, some influence upon them; and should any be disposed to consider it the principal inducement to their consent, it would be acknowledging, in the most unequivocal manner, the policy of the measure.* It is gratifying to me to have been instrumental in bestowing upon them this little boon, and small as it was, its being received, as a reward, gave more satisfaction than, I am persuaded, a larger sum, given as a common parochial allowance, would have done. On another account this gift has been useful; it has been the means of making the poor more regular in their attendance, and has particularly induced them to bring their children at that period when the genuineness of the vaccination can be best ascertained, the certificate of the surgeon not having been given until that time. On former occasions I have lamented their carelessness in this respect, having, in many instances, from their remissness in attending at this period, been unable to register the completed vaccination.

I may also congratulate the public at large on the signal success of this experiment. Compared with

* It ought, however, to be recorded, that no inconsiderable number of the children have not taken the reward; their parents not being in distress, thought it right not to apply for it—but expressed themselves equally grateful for the benefit conferred on their children.

the population of the place, I believe, in no instance, in this country at least, have so many individuals been vaccinated in so short a period; and the immediate consequent exclusion of small-pox, when more than thirteen hundred individuals were previously liable to it, is at once an irrefragable proof of the protecting power of vaccination, and of the magnitude of the blessing bestowed by Providence, in its discovery: and it must, also, not be forgotten, that all this has been effected without the smallest agitation of the public mind—without any interruption to public business—with even but little loss of time to the poor themselves—and comparatively with little professional inconvenience.*

The pecuniary price of this benefit, if such a benefit can be estimated by money, has, moreover, been only 124£. 5s. and against this must be placed, as a per contra, the expence which would have accrued to the city, had half this number of poor children taken the small-pox. The vaccination of eight in a family brings an expence of one pound; but should four only in a family have sickened with this disease, an expence, to the amount of several pounds, would probably have been incurred. The derangement of a poor family, by the introduction of small-pox, is of the most distressing kind; an immediate suspension of labor takes place, the time and atten-

* It must be observed, that the private vaccination has gone on as usual, and which, for several years past, may be considered as fully established among the educated and reflecting classes. Judging, indeed, by the number of private patients I have myself vaccinated, at this time, the number has exceeded the common average—which is very probable, the public attention having been more than ordinarily directed to the subject.

tion of every one are directed to the poor sufferers; increased wants arise; the necessaries for the sick are of a more expensive kind; the wretched father can earn nothing, and he is compelled to apply for parochial relief; and though parishes often give with too sparing a hand, on no occasions have parochial burdens been more severely felt, than when the small-pox has spread through a district.

More powerful arguments for the adoption, in other places, of a similar system of vaccination, cannot, surely, be adduced. To obtain a great good without some alloy of evil, is not often the fortunate lot, either of individuals or of Societies; and when such offers itself, it would seem an offence against nature, and, in this instance, a violation of its first law, that of self-preservation, to reject it.

E. R.

NORWICH, Nov. 5, 1812.

REPORT

OF

The Norwich Pauper Vaccination,

FROM

AUGUST 10, 1812, TO AUGUST 10, 1813,

&c.

REPORT.

HAVING, with every friend to humanity, lamented the difficulty of extending the benefit of vaccination to the lower classes of society, which, for many years, have, in this country, been the principal sufferers from small-pox, and having found the exertion of individuals, and even the establishment of societies, one of which, a few years ago, was formed in this city, unavailing, sufficiently to interest the poor on this important subject, I considered it indispensable, in any attempt to effect an extensive pauper vaccination, to profit of the influence and authority of those bodies of men to whom, in most large cities, the law has peculiarly entrusted the care of the poor; and, at the same time, to endeavour to obtain the consent of the poor to such a measure, by holding out to them the additional inducement of a reward.

In this city the important duty of taking care of the poor rests with sixty citizens, called Guardians of the Poor, and who hold a monthly court; some of these are magistrates, and being myself, as a magistrate, a member of this court, I have several times urged it to take this subject into consideration.

In the beginning of August, 1812, having information that the small-pox had appeared in some neighbouring

villages, I was induced to renew my earnest application to the court on the subject, and I succeeded in obtaining not only its sanction for a general gratuitous vaccination of the poor, but its concurrence in my proposal that each individual vaccinated should receive half a crown. This resolution of the court was publicly notified, and the three city surgeons were directed to vaccinate all poor persons, resident in the city, who should apply, whether they, parochially, belonged to it or not.

The vaccination commenced immediately, and the readiness with which the poor submitted to it is manifest, from seven hundred and fifty four persons, principally children, having been vaccinated from the 10th of August to the 10th of September. It has been continued from that time to the present, with the exception only of the month of January, when all alarm respecting small-pox had subsided; and the result has been most important to humanity, *two thousand, three hundred, and ninety-one* individuals having, in consequence of this measure, had the benefit of vaccination, between the 10th of August, 1812, and the 10th of August, 1813.

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| By Mr. Rigby | | 854 |
| Mr. Keymer .. | } City Surgeons, { | 58 |
| Mr. Robinson . | | 408 |
| Mr. Deacon .. | | 618 |
| Mr. Powell | | 262 |
| Mr. Cooper | | 165 |
| Mr. Scott | | 12 |
| Mr. Purland .. | | 2 |
| ———— | | 12 |
| | | <hr/> 2391 <hr/> |

Which is, probably, a greater number than, within the same period, have been vaccinated in any other place, in this country, of like population.

Of these, fifteen hundred and eight have each received half a crown, the court having paid the sum of 188*£*. 10*s*. for this purpose.

As before observed, the vaccination was first had recourse to in consequence of the near approach of the small-pox. The promptness with which it was undertaken, and the considerable numbers which were immediately vaccinated, seem effectually, at that time, to have prevented its spreading in the city, though a case of natural small-pox, traced from a neighbouring village, had occurred, and an additional source of infection had subsequently been introduced by variolous inoculation, for until the month of February not a single case of the disease existed, at which time fourteen hundred and fifteen had been vaccinated.

In the beginning of February a soldier's wife, who had passed through London, with three children, came into the city—her eldest boy was full of the small-pox, and the two other children were sickening with it, all of them having caught it in London. This unfortunate fact was soon made public, and the vaccination immediately again had recourse to; but the small-pox, on this occasion, soon found its way among the unvaccinated, and several children were sacrificed to it within a few weeks; for it had appeared, nearly at the same time, in a different part of the city, and it was ascertained to have been, also, brought thither by another unfortunate communication with the metropolis. The number of persons who had not profited of the vaccination in the preceding autumn, proved now to be greater than was expected; for calculating on the probable average number

of annual births in the lower classes, and on the supposed number of individuals who had the small-pox in the years 1808 and 1809, I had estimated the number liable to the disease, in the beginning of August, 1812, not to have exceeded thirteen hundred.

Though many of the poor were daily vaccinated, more, indeed, than I still calculated to be liable to the small-pox, there was an unfortunate number who yet neglected the boon, and among these the disease has, from that time to the present, spread itself, and I regret to record that, from the 10th of Feb. to the 3d of Sept. sixty-five deaths have occurred from it. How much greater the sacrifice of human life would have been, had not so extensive a vaccination taken place, may easily be conjectured—had those, who were vaccinated, been liable to take the infection, the deaths would, probably, have exceeded four hundred.

During this time, I am sorry to say, there were many instances of the grossest carelessness in the exposure of patients, in all stages of the disease, in the most public streets. It was also admitted into several public-houses, the resort of country persons, and thence communicated to some neighbouring villages. I failed, in an application to the acting magistrate, to take some steps to ascertain what public-houses were thus infected, and to guard strangers, liable to the disease, against entering them, as he conceived there was no law to countenance such an interference.

The vaccination, in the preceding autumn, having been so completely successful in preventing the spread of the small-pox, was, unquestionably, a most gratifying circumstance; but though during the subsequent vaccination, from February to August, the disease still made a fatal

progress, the melancholy fact has afforded an irrefragable proof of the protecting power of vaccination: during this period probably not fewer than four hundred individuals have had the small-pox; there has likewise been no intermission of the disease—it has been constantly spreading, and on many occasions, patients, as before observed, have been publicly exposed. Of the two thousand, three hundred, and ninety-one vaccinated during the year, it may be assumed, that at least two thousand have been resident in the city since February, and consequently equally exposed to an infectious atmosphere as the unvaccinated, and yet but one single instance, in that number, has occurred, in which the protecting influence of vaccination has been suspected, and this has been clearly ascertained to have been a case of premature vesicle, which suddenly rose, soon disappeared, and evidently produced no constitutional affection.* Whereas every unvaccinated person, thus exposed, has probably taken the disease, and I should fear, of those remaining at present uninfected, if not promptly vaccinated, that very few will escape.

* This was a child of Mrs. Gostling, in Grant's Yard, St. John's of Maddermarket; it had been vaccinated in April; I visited it on the 29th of July; there were many recent vestiges of distinct variolæ upon it. On examining the vaccinated arm, I could detect no cicatrix, and Mrs. Gostling, unasked, said she attributed the failure to the vesicle having risen sooner, subsided sooner, and having been less than those in her other three children, who were vaccinated at the same time, and who have all resisted the infection.

As a singular coincidence, I would observe, that about this time my friend Mr. Chandler, of St. Faith's, called upon me to say that he had just seen a patient under small-pox, who had been inoculated by him, for that disease, nine years ago, and then appeared to have had the genuine small-pox.

From the intercourse between Norwich and the neighbouring villages, the small-pox was soon introduced into them, and has since spread into various parts of the county; it has also prevailed much, and been very fatal at Yarmouth, where few have been vaccinated; many of the Local Militia were infected there, and communicated it, on their return, to their respective villages. Its progress has also been much accelerated, and its diffusion promoted, by the unjustifiable, and much to be reprobated practice of variolous inoculation. I lament to say, that some professional men have allowed themselves to inoculate for small-pox; but it has been principally done by despicable empirics, itinerants, even shoemakers, and old women; and in some instances, it has been ordered by ignorant overseers of parishes.

In such a disastrous state of the disease, spreading, as it is, at this time, through many populous districts, a general gratuitous vaccination of the poor cannot be too much urged. The signal success of the measure in Norwich has at once established its practicability; and shewn that the means of effecting it are within the reach of every parish in the kingdom. That these means are not of difficult application is evident, from its having been there carried through without the smallest agitation of the public mind—without any interruption to public business—with even but little loss of time to the poor themselves—and comparatively with little professional inconvenience. And that it is not objectionable on account of the parochial expence incurred by it, is equally evident, from two thousand, three hundred, and ninety-one having been vaccinated at an expence to the city of only 188*l.* 10*s.* and against this must be placed the expence which would have accrued to the city, had even half that number taken the small-pox. The vaccination of eight in a family, each

taking the reward, brings an expence of only one pound; but should four only in a family sicken with this disease, an expence to the amount of several pounds would, probably, be incurred. The derangement of a poor family, by the introduction of small-pox, is of the most distressing kind; an immediate suspension of labour takes place; the time and attention of every one are directed to the poor sufferers; increased wants arise; the necessaries for the sick are of a more expensive kind; the means of supplying them cease; the wretched father can earn nothing, he has neither time nor ability to work—he is compelled to apply for parochial relief; and though parishes often give with too sparing a hand, on no occasions have parochial burdens been more severely felt, than when the small-pox has spread through a district.

It has been objected to this measure, that medical men cannot be expected always to vaccinate the poor without some remuneration. In all places of considerable population, the medical care of the poor is contracted for, at a fixed annual stipend; and though I fear, there are few instances of this kind, in which surgeons are paid with adequate liberality, yet when a parish, or a district, is taken, it becomes an object of œconomy and policy to vaccinate every pauper, rather than risk the expence, trouble, and I may certainly add, the anxiety of attending them under so horrid a disease. On this ground, I am persuaded, there is nothing to fear. There has been, comparatively, little reluctance shewn by medical men, to extend the great benefits of the Jennerian discovery; on the contrary, with few exceptions, much good sense has been evinced in their early appreciation of its high value, and much zeal and personal exertion have been used by them, to establish and extend its beneficial influence in society.

But still more effectually to prevent the future admission of small-pox, and to increase the probability of its ultimate extinction, an event which every friend of humanity will indulge in anticipating, more is unquestionably necessary. It has been ascertained, that small-pox inoculation is the great means by which the disease is kept in existence,* and that London, through its agency, is the great generating focus of variolous infection, whence, as in its late communication to Norwich, it radiates to every part of the empire. While this practice continues, it will be utterly impossible to extinguish small-pox, or to prevent the occasional alarm even of those who have been vaccinated. It is, therefore, indispensable to the interests of humanity, that the practice should cease; but it is pretty evident, while any pecuniary gain attaches to it, individuals will be found to practice it; and while any prejudices remain against vaccination, which it is their obvious interest to keep up and increase, there will be no difficulty in finding subjects to practice upon.

Under these circumstances there appears no resource but in legislation; and the accumulated mischiefs which have already resulted from the practice, together with its direct tendency to destroy life, by diffusing a pestilential and dangerous disease, will surely justify the passing a law, imposing a severe penalty on any one, directly or indirectly concerned in the act of variolous inoculation.

The greater number of those who are agents in this mischievous practice, are, I am persuaded, incapable of reasoning on the subject, and probably still less capable of any moral discussion; but those few of the profession, who continue it, assume, as a justification, the alleged insecurity

* Report of the National Vaccine Establishment, 1813.

of vaccination; and to establish such an opinion, are loud in their abuse of it, industrious in collecting cases of doubt or error in vaccination, some of which must necessarily occur in very great numbers, in magnifying supposed failures, and in laying them most conspicuously before the public in news-papers, &c.

Though most of these cases of imputed failure have been satisfactorily explained,* an unfavorable impression has, certainly, been made on the public mind, the progress of vaccination has been impeded, and what is to be lamented, doubts and alarms have been excited in the minds of those who have been vaccinated; on this account, I have no hesitation in saying, the opposers to vaccination have much to answer for. Admitting their adduced cases of failure to their utmost extent, vaccination would still be a blessing; it would be no reason for abandoning vaccination, but a powerful one for preventing the introduction of small-pox, and for increasing our efforts to exterminate it; and assuming it possible that the failures were even one in twenty, the means of effecting this important purpose would, obviously, be still increased in the proportion of nineteen to one. I will say further, and say it gravely, that on a fair comparison of the two inoculations, no man of sound intellect, of correct moral feeling, and who does not prefer his individual interest to the general and more important interests of society, will hesitate to prefer vaccination to variolation. When no other means of lessening the fatality of small-pox than inoculation were known, the practice was justifiable; and had the security which individuals obtained from it, been extended to all classes of society, and no injury done to any, it would have been a general blessing. It is well known, however, that its

* See Norfolk Chronicle, September 4, 1812.

benefits were ever limited to certain orders, and that the poor never having been inoculated to any extent, not only failed to profit of it, but the disease being constantly kept up by a never-ceasing partial inoculation of their richer neighbours, they were, more than ever, exposed to infection, and the average mortality from it, though almost exclusively confined to them, became even greater than before the discovery of inoculation; population proportionately suffering. With vaccination this could not have been—the protection it gives is without alloy; with it, the security of one is not obtained by exposing others to danger: it is not an infectious disease.

Inoculated small-pox is attended with illness in its eruptive stage, sometimes with severe symptoms in every stage, and it has been calculated to have occasioned death in the proportion of one in three hundred.

A very few years ago, indeed, inoculated small-pox was much more fatal, in several parts of Norfolk—at Elmham, Holt, and Aylsham. In Aylsham, considerable numbers were inoculated, and the deaths were nearly one in twenty.

The peculiar constitutional change induced by small-pox, by which scrofula has been so often elicited, is not confined to the natural disease; the inoculated small-pox, when severe, has the same prejudicial influence on the constitution, and this has been one of the popular objections to it. I have only one other observation to make—various inoculation does not, in every instance, prevent the future admission of the disease;—there are many well attested cases of its recurrence.

Vaccination, on the contrary, through its whole progress, is attended with very little perceptible illness, there

is no eruptive fever, there are no frightful convulsions in children, and as it does not in any degree disturb the system, it cannot be charged with exciting any latent morbid affection; it is wholly free from danger; and notwithstanding the magnified reports of the anti-vaccinists, the instances of its failing to secure against small-pox, are not more than those which have followed variolous inoculation.

From a report to the French government on the general state of vaccination, it appears that the proportion of failures in France has been only as 1 to 381,666.*

In all the reflecting and educated classes, there is little doubt of vaccination being generally adopted. But I am advocating the vaccination of the poor. With them, the means of information, on important subjects, are not very attainable; nor can they, for want of intellectual improvement, readily appreciate new discoveries, at all connected with science. On all subjects involving the happiness of the lower classes, much is expected, from the exerted influence of the higher and more educated classes;—and on this, it would seem their obvious duty, to give them information, to remove their doubts and prejudices, and to offer motives for their consent to a measure of such importance, not only to their individual welfare, but to the general interests of society.—I lament to say, little disposition of this kind has shewn itself; and from what I have observed, I fear it will be difficult to excite among the higher classes such an interest, on this subject, as to induce, on their part, any extensive exertion, in behalf of pauper vaccination.

* National Vaccine Establishment for 1813.

The efficiency of a gift offered to the poor has been unequivocally proved in the late extensive pauper vaccination in Norwich, and there is little doubt but a similar measure would be equally successful in other places: but the truth must not be concealed, there appears no disposition to follow this example.—Even in the immediate neighbourhood of Norwich it has not been adopted, nor has the experiment been attempted in any part of the county of Norfolk. I fear, therefore, that even this measure, which promises so effectually to establish vaccination among the poor, will not be generally, if at all, had recourse to, unless enjoined by legislative authority—and if considered as a parochial allowance, there would seem no more objection to parliament directing a reward, on the vaccination of the poor, to be paid in every parish in the empire, than there is in its directing a specific allowance to the wives and children of militia men.

Under a conviction, therefore, that the destructive progress of the small-pox cannot be arrested, unless variolous inoculation be compleatly put down; and that no measure is so calculated to produce the general vaccination of the poor, (which seems equally necessary to the extinction of small-pox,) as the giving to each person vaccinated a small pecuniary reward; and being not less satisfied that neither of these measures can be carried into any extensive effect without legislative interference, I trust the subject, important as it is in a moral, and in a national view, will, in due time, engage the attention of parliament.

EDWARD RIGBY.

Norwich, Sept. 6, 1813.

4285

